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IN a former article on the Chinese Empire and its Destinies, we had under consideration chiefly, though not exclusively, the development and progress of the nation from *within*, and had not much regard to external elements of influence. For the completion of any satisfactory view, however, of the present condition of China, and its future destiny in the career of nations, it is desirable that the process should be reversed, and that we should endeavour to determine what is the degree and kind of influence exercised by the foreign relations into which China has, more or less, compulsorily entered,—how far, among the more occult causes of the vital movement and upheaving of the old foundations of society and government observable at the present day in China, the infiltration of European ideas may be rightly classed as one. That there has been an interchange of opinions, as well as of goods, cannot be doubted; and even the political relations of ostensible amity, but virtual antagonism and ill-disguised hostility, can scarcely have been altogether without influence, when these have been marked by a war such as the Chinese had to encounter in 1842-3, and the continued presence and control of foreign representatives at five of their principal ports, as the immediate fruit of the concessions wrung from them at Nanking. The introduction into the life of any nation of a new order of ideas, social, political, and religious, however slow the process of percolation or absorption, unless very partial, must of necessity produce some effect; and all past history points to a certain analogy with what takes place in the living frame when new matter is carried into the circulation,—namely, that it leads more or less rapidly, but very surely, to general disturbance of the whole system, and often to a violent

fever and crisis, in which the existence of the patient is exposed to great danger. So invariable is this physiological law, and so close the apparent analogy of the moral law which governs the life and health of nations,—man collective as well as individual,—that we do not think it can be deemed fanciful if for a moment we make the one apply to the other. Certainly, if it were permitted to carry the idea out to its ultimate development, we should still see History and Physiology read the same lesson. It is not always safe to transfuse the blood of a healthy and vigorous man into the veins of a delicate and sickly subject, though it *has* sometimes saved life by supplying a deficient element of vitality; but it is always, we believe, attended with more or less of danger; while the transfusion of the blood of one race or species into the system of another, is generally fatal if persevered in. The blood globules of one kind will not circulate in the finer capillaries of another species, and a general obstruction, or catastrophe of some kind, is the final result. Such too often seems to be the history of the best-intended efforts to mingle the life-elements of different nations. Man's efforts at civilisation invariably—when the race to be so benefited is inferior and weaker, intellectually and physically, than the nation civilising,—have had but one result: the weaker has gone down before the stronger, and more quickly or slowly, according to circumstances, they have faded and been destroyed. It is customary to attribute this fact—too plainly written in history to admit of discussion—to the evil designs which have generally been the moving power for the transmigration of nations, either bodily or mentally,—that is, either by colonisation or propagandism; and that the destruction of the original possessors of the land, as it was the real object, so was it the necessary consequence of the effort expended. And the history of colonisation is written in lines too dark, and blotted over with crime, whichever be the nation that is summoned to the bar, for anything to be said in regard to the instrumentality employed. Both the executors and the victims—for, in that relation only have they ever been—stand out in proportions and characters too plainly marked. Yet we have a strong conviction that the effect was, nevertheless, in strict accordance with, and in obedience to a law which man has no power to arrest in execution, when once the elements are in contact. New elements, whether of matter or of mind, can never by any sudden process be received into the human system without disturbance and danger. So it has ever been with political institutions. *Cursory* constitutions from

the philosophic laboratory of the most wise and benevolent of theorisers have had but one fate. Where have they ever taken root?—or, if obstinately propped up by some external power, where have they failed to produce *revolutions and bloodshed*? Look to the South American Republics! Will they ever cease fighting,—making *pronunciamentos*,—patching new constitutions, and then baptising them in blood? France, the foremost in European civilisation, did not find in '92 that a Roman Republic could be grafted on her national constitution; and she had a long and desperate crisis as the penalty of the insane attempt. Has she, indeed, yet been restored to any permanent or healthy state? She has, alas! been in the hands of many doctors, some sad quacks, and ignorant withal, as well as dishonest, it is to be feared; she has gone through many and very different courses of treatment. God send our good ally well through! and may she live to develop by the formative principle of vitality *that is within* every nation and body not sinking to its extinction, a vigorous and indigenous growth, instead of wasting her strength in the vain attempt to naturalise that which is exotic, and only fitted for other climes and social conditions. We are attempting to transfuse some Western life-blood into the sick man in Turkey, and many stalwart arms are upholding the patient while the process is going on,—but shall we succeed? We have no faith in such experiments. They are, we firmly believe, made in the teeth of a natural and moral law which governs the life, and growth, and decay of nations, as clearly as it does the life of man; and all experience since the world began gives an emphatic negative to expectations of success founded on such premises.

But it is of China,—the other extremity of the great eastern world, and cradle of the human race,—and not of Turkey, we would speak; although tempted for a moment to deviate from our proper theme by many points of analogy, and some not less striking diversities. The Turks have never advanced so far in civilisation as the Chinese, and they have descended much lower in the graduated scale of national failure and decay. They, too, have the fortune, whether good or evil, of being hemmed in and surrounded by friend and foe of colossal proportions, each one able to strangle in his bed the old sick man; while the Chinese nation, girt round by the sea and the desert, is so far distant from all the centres of Western civilisation, and the arena of their rivalries and contests, that they may doubtless be permitted to settle their own domestic affairs, and wrangle

or butcher each other until the Greek kalends, so far as the active national interference of other States and Powers is concerned. But to China and to Turkey the same thing has happened: they have been inoculated with a certain virus of Western origin, ill-adapted, we fear, to the natural constitution and present state of their frame; and the only difference between them may chance to be, that China being a larger body, and the dose less overpowering or perseveringly administered, may linger longer in her agonies; whereas a sharp struggle and a brief death-rattle is what Turkey, as the weaker and smaller of the two, has been for some time menaced with as the closing chapter and natural finale of the Turkish history and nation.

It is true, worthy and excellent men, scattered through both Europe and America, flatter themselves that efforts at once costly and persevering, to Christianise the Chinese nation, will convey to this vast population elements of new life and strength,—elements that they can receive, not only without injury or danger, but assimilate as wholesome and renovating food,—a spiritual and health-bestowing aliment, not a disguised poison. As between Chinese and foreigners, the whole question is there; and it is but fair to start by saying that judgment has long been given in this matter by the Chinese rulers, if not by the people. So far as the former are concerned, their opinions and their *convictions* cannot admit of doubt. We are certain we do not err in the conclusion that it has for many generations been the firm persuasion of *all in authority in China*, and latterly an engrossing fear, that our principles, both political and religious, are fraught with dire mischief to the nation and existing Government, and are to be dreaded precisely in the proportion in which they are likely to find acceptance among the millions of the “black-haired race.” Hence suspicions and fears, and a foreign policy of restriction as nearly approaching to absolute exclusion as they dare to attempt, or believe to be practicable.

Nor are these the only sources of antagonism and hostility, unfortunately, between two such large sections of the human family as the European and Mongolian races comprise: there are antipathies and dislikes, quite as influential in the intercourse between them, arising from other causes. The manners, customs, social and moral characteristics of the two races, have little in common, and for the most part are strangely, *absurdly opposite*, and in conflict. In language, modes of thought, and principles of action, they are at each other's antipodes, in a way so invariable, and

carried out to such trifling minuteness, that it would seem as though the most *bizarre* perversity of design had presided over the formation of such nationalities. We had thrown together a few illustrations and remarks on this head, which we believed might have had some interest to the general reader ; but the matter pressing upon us on other sections of a more grave and important character, has grown to such bulk, that we see the necessity of sacrificing what was already written. Our readers must be content for the present to take our word for the truth of the statement, proofs of which every one, moreover, can in some degree supply by recourse to the first Chinese ware or porcelain vase, or any book of travels in the land of Gog and Magog, and the Lamp of Aladdin ; for we give on good authority to China the honour of having possessed these three prodigies, to say nothing of foolish Aladdin himself,—not a bad type of those who still occupy the land, and in their old age, with grey beards and long tails, fly kites in the air with exemplary patience, and more than a school-boy's gratification, while they set their children to study philosophy in the metaphysics of Mencius and Taou.

But we must hasten on to these perhaps less inviting, but certainly more important sections ; and we shall find that not only in manners and customs, but in the state of civilisation, in their acquired tastes, in material interests and axioms of political economy, there are the same elements of antagonism eminently unfavourable to improved or enlarged intercourse. In religion, we find another rock right in our course, the danger of which to all our relations, commercial or political, it is difficult to exaggerate. So, again, the internal weakness and disorganisation of all civil and military administration, and the conscious sense of the Chinese in *these respects* of their inferiority, or, at all events, of our superior strength, comes with additional weight to give full effect to all other influences of an adverse character. And if they are manifestly unfavorable to progress, as relates to any attempt of Western States either to extend their trade or evangelise the population,—not, it is to be feared, very compatible objects as things are managed in China,—it is also a question of deep interest, what amount of truth there may be in the general conviction of Government and authorities throughout the Empire, that such antipathies and repulsions are inherent in the opposite conditions of the two races, and salutary,—their greatest perilling in the necessity of coming in contact with foreign States at all, and the obligation of holding any

intercourse, either social, commercial, or political, with foreigners of Western origin.

It is essential, however, in the travels we are about to take through the inner land, that we should for a time doff the outward man of the foreigner; and, if we would gain some knowledge of the Chinese as they are, and penetrate into their thoughts and motives for action, we must look at foreign things with Chinese eyes. We must as Cicerone—and pray our readers to do the same—divest ourselves of our own personality, and nationality too, be impenetrable to blame, callous to ridicule, and feel no blinding mists of wounded *amour propre*; for if we are to listen to what *Chinese say and think of us*, do we expect to be tickled with soft flattery, or to hear words of compliment and admiration? Let us forthwith dismiss all such illusory hopes, and frankly accept the proverbial condition of listeners, “who never hear any good of themselves,” reserving to ourselves the right of alternately profiting by all that is true, and rejecting the erroneous, as the fruit of our excursion to a strange land and a sojourn with another race, between whom and us there was in the beginning, and has been in the end, as little love as Slender found in his breast for his fair mistress Anne Page. Indeed, if Taou-Kwang could have quoted Shakespeare in his perplexity, when called upon to sign the treaty of Nanking, we doubt not that Slender’s whole speech would have been quite to his mind, and altogether apposite:—“I will marry her, Sir, at your request; but if there be no great love in the beginning, yet heaven may decrease it upon further acquaintance, when we are married and have more occasion to know another. I hope upon familiarity will grow more contempt; but if you say ‘Marry her,’ I will marry her,—that I am freely dissolved and dissolutely.”

Moralising on the popular notions of “outside barbarians” in vogue among the Chinese, and stereotyped in their popular literature, the Abbé Huic tells us, that—

“The Greeks fixed the abode of their monsters and ephemeral creatures in the east, and the Chinese have returned the compliment by placing theirs in the west, beyond the great seas. There dwell their dog-men, their nation with ears long enough to trail on the ground as they walk; there is the kingdom of women, and of the people with a hole right through them at the breast, the mandarins of which people, when they go out, merely pass a stick through this hole, and have themselves carried thus between two domestics. If the bearers are strong enough, they often string on several gentlemen at once.”

restored to perfect continuity. The mode in which they make elaborate carvings in agate, the hardest of substances, is a mystery ;—and so of numerous other arts. With three of the simplest mechanical powers,—the wedge, the lever, and the wheel,—they obtain a mastery over materials sometimes of stupendous weight and magnitude, and conquer difficulties that would tax even scientific ingenuity and resources. In one thing of national importance, it is true, they seem to fail,—*in dyking their large rivers*. The Yellow River is a perpetual source of anxiety and danger,—a standing menace to one of their wealthiest provinces ; and in that, some future day, engineering science may confer a great benefit ; but even of that we do not feel confident.

This hasty review of characteristic differences in manners, customs, habits, and the very stamp of the civilisation which exists in China; and the type of Western development, may suffice to show how many and potential may be the antagonistic influences in full operation against any efforts to draw closer the bonds of union for mutual advantage. Some may be disposed to treat lightly these social antitheses, as in no serious degree interfering with the interchange of merchandise, or the pressure and influence of material interests, when these demand the drawing together of nations, and make it one of the conditions of their prosperity. But this is to contend that men's feelings, prejudices, and passions are inert, and only called into play as a *clear and enlightened view of their own interests* shall prompt. Slight worldly experience is required for the condemnation of such a theory as utterly erroneous. Not only do our habits, feelings, and prejudices blind us to our own interests, but they lead us perpetually to consult the one in preference to the other, and without any regard to the moral worth of what we object to, or despise. The man who voids his rheum upon your hearth or carpet, shouts slang or barbarous language in your ear, and jars all the fibres of your organisation, is a man that you will dislike and avoid, even though he has good bargains to sell, especially if there are other sources where you can invest your money without being subject to such disgusts. As with a man, so with a nation. Uncongenial habits and customs, and the want of a common language, are great impediments to free intercourse. Now, that such uncongeniality exists, and antipathetic tendencies too, cannot be doubted ; and that these involve distaste and contempt, facts sufficiently establish. The Chinese, like other people, are very apt to condemn what they do not rightly



understand ; and we may rest assured that the foreigner who finds the necessity for "walking his thousand steps," or pulling like a bargeman for exercise, or shouting hurrahs with stentorian lungs after dinner for enjoyment, will be regarded as a "barbarian" by the Chinese, and despised and disliked accordingly, even if in moral worth he could establish a more unquestionable and invariable superiority.

If so many grounds of dissidence or antagonism may be shown to exist between the Trans-Gangetic East and the West,—the Chinese or Mongolian, and the European races,—in manners and customs, in their characteristics, social and ethical, we cannot be surprised to find, upon inquiry, other and equally strong points of divergence in the political economy and commercial policy of this eastern, yet not oriental people, as this term is popularly applied by universal consent. That there should be such differences very clearly defined, seems to follow almost as an inevitable necessity. The state of civilisation to which a nation has attained, its acquired tastes, and the material interests of the country, always more or less influenced by them, must go far to determine their system of political economy and commerce ; and China, in these respects, forms no exception. In any foreign relations established between the Chinese Empire and the Western States, whether political or commercial objects may have in view, these elementary conditions, without doubt, play a very prominent part; and it is essential to know how the balance is favourable or adverse. To this portion of the inquiry we therefore turn.

It would be a great mistake to conclude that because the economical and commercial principles of Chinese writers on these confessedly intricate subjects are different from those most prevalent in the West, they have made no progress in the science of political economy (if science it deserves to be called even in our day), or were deficient in bygone ages in the knowledge and practice necessary to give development to the resources of a country, and the interchange of products on a colossal scale. In Europe, and even in England, there is no such unanimity of opinion on the cardinal points as to entitle us to lay down the law *ex cathedra* or very dogmatically to the Chinese, or any other people. It was a science with them very certainly before modern nations existed, and has ever since been cultivated with more or less success; and we can scarcely hope to make much impression upon the Chinese mind in this direction, without some prior cognisance of the current opinions

and received principles of that science, as they understand it. If a Chinese political economist had come among us forty years ago, and pointed out the fallacy involved in protective laws for corn, we fear he would not only have signally failed in any advocacy of a principle of free trade, but in obtaining a hearing, unless he could show that he at least understood where the stress of the question lay, and what were the arguments in vogue on the opposite side. Our space will not permit us to show by many extracts what their views are ; but that they should form the special study of those charged with the extension of our trade in China, cannot be doubted. They will see, as M. Huc remarks, that "the Chinese are as advanced as we are in the art of making formulas." There is one example from *Tsien-tche*, a celebrated writer of ancient times, who maintained that a legal interest of 30 per cent. was calculated to facilitate commerce ! He says—

"A well-organised society would be that in which every one labouring according to his powers, his talents, and the public necessities, all property would be divided in such proportions as should secure its enjoyment to every one at the same time. The richest State would be that in which a small amount of labour would furnish the productions of nature and art in abundance, superior to the number and the wants of the inhabitants. Wealth has necessarily a relation to wants. The empire was richer with a smaller amount of property under the first dynasties, because less labour produced more in proportion to the number of inhabitants. The superabundant produce of some localities may be made to become a help to others that are deficient, and it is for commerce to undertake their transport. The necessity of commerce in the empire is equal to the necessity of exchanges, and the utility of commerce to their utility,—that is to say, the necessity is absolute, and the utility universal and continual."

Again, as bearing upon existing opinions and foreign commercial relations :—

"If all the goods of the empire belonged to the State, and the State would undertake the distribution of them, it must necessarily undertake those exchanges which are effected by commerce, by carrying the superabundance of one place to another. Merchants, however, undertake to render this important service to society, at their own risk and peril. The proportions and the correspondence of the exchanges of productions is neither uniform, constant, nor convenient enough to provide for the varied and continual wants of society ; but money, as the sign and equivalent of a fixed and recognised value, supplies this want so much the more easily, as it lends itself with facility and promptitude to all the proportions, divisions, and correspondences of exchange. Money is the spring and the heaven of commerce, and commerce can only be flourishing inasmuch as the circulation of money facilitates, increases, accelerates, and perpetuates the multitude of exchanges. It is not less evident to the Government,—watchful that the totality of money circulating in the empire should be proportioned

to the value and quantity of the innumerable exchanges of commerce,—*that the money withdrawn from circulation diminishes the facility, the uniformity, and the continuity of these exchanges in proportion to its quantity.*"

Apply this to the state of foreign commerce existing for many years, with an annual drain of Sycee silver to the extent of some 10,000,000 ounces, and we shall be in some condition to estimate the *degree of favor* with which it is looked upon by the political economists of this school. Apart from all consideration as to the character of that portion of the trade which consists in opium,—the efficient cause and the instrument by which this enormous balance of trade is chiefly turned against the Chinese,—irrespective of the moral question, it is to them one of the greatest interest in an economical point of view. In both aspects, it is impossible to doubt there is but one opinion among the Chinese rulers and the bulk of the nation, and that is condemnatory. They consider all foreign trade, taken as a whole,—even if it brought with it no other evils in extended intercourse and chances of collision with barbarians,—prejudicial to the true interests of the country, a *gain* and a *necessity* to the foreigner, a loss, or at best an *equivocal advantage* to the Chinese nation. Thus, in applying Chinese thoughts and estimates of things to our own position and interests, we are led to look a little deeper into their bearing upon commerce than has been usual.

M. Hue gives as the result of his experience and travel in the interior throughout the empire, that the custom-houses are not numerous for the indigenous trade, nor at all severe in their proceedings. "When we were travelling as native Chinese," he observes, "subject to the same laws as any one else, we traversed the empire from one end to the other without having anywhere had our trunks searched, which contained European books and other prohibited articles. The officers of the customs used to present themselves; we declared that we were not merchants, and carried with us no contraband goods, and we then offered our keys in a very calm and stately manner, and requested them to examine our trunks, which they never did. The greater part of the custom-houses are established solely for salt, the trade in which, in most of the provinces, is a Government monopoly;" a small bribe or fee here, as elsewhere, sufficing to avert much trouble to the traveller.

Our author goes on to state, however, that there has been a great increase in the custom-houses of late years, with a view to

intercept and prevent European goods freely circulating in the interior. There has been a very general opinion at the five ports to the same effect; but we confess we see great reason to doubt the accuracy of such impressions. On trunk lines for a large traffic in tea and silks,—such as exist north and south from the districts leading to Shanghai, where these articles are of great value and bulk, and some ten millions sterling worth pass every year,—it must be admitted the temptation is great to put on the screw in a country like China, where a certain and small transit duty, and a presumptive right to fees, are sanctioned alike, the one by law, and the other by long-established usage; and custom-houses are placed at given points to collect it, and, for the individual enrichment of the officers, to make various prettexts for bribes and squeezes. Sometimes the higher provincial authorities, in a time of pressure, may find in such a trade a convenient resource for suddenly increasing their own or their master's revenues, with a view to meet some emergency; nor can their right to do so, as regards the latter object, be so absolutely gainsaid as merchants have sometimes contended. But the Chinese traders are too well versed in the means of resisting such attempts—combining together effectively for that end—to allow very serious depredations to be committed on their purses. If persisted in, the British and American consuls very soon hear of it, and are appealed to for aid, and, after some remonstrance and denial of the truth, the matter generally drops,—some small contribution in the way of a compromise putting an end to the contest. But we are sceptical of any persevering and systematic plan for preventing the circulation of European goods in the interior, as a measure of policy on the part of the Imperial Government, though individual cases of oppression may not be wanting. If our goods do not meet a large market,—one more proportionate to the number of the population,—we believe the reason is to be found in the deficiency of demand,—their own cotton cloths and Russian skins supplying the masses, often at a cheaper rate, with all that they require in the way of clothing.

M. Hue gives us in unhesitating terms his opinion as to the indifference, or, more properly speaking, the repugnance of the Chinese statesmen and rulers to foreign commerce, going as far back as 2,000 years for the political economy on which such feeling is based. That the Chinese argue now in the way quoted from *Kouan-tze*, the celebrated economist before our era, is very certain. "Commerce," according to their ideas, "can only be useful to the empire insomuch as *by giving up superfluous ar-*

*ticles, it acquires what are necessary and useful."* Tea, and silks, and porcelain, are, on the contrary, in their estimate, useful articles, and still more *Sycee silver*, which they consider the life-blood of the nation and the main-stay of all exchange of products; while opium, objects of luxury, and such precious trifles as European art provides, are *perfectly superfluous, and sources of mischief rather than of good*. While the trade with Russia and with the Tartars, therefore, is popular,—by which they get the furs and leathers of which they really stand in need, in return for tea they can well dispense with,—they look upon all *European maritime trade as pernicious, and a source of perpetual trouble and danger*. Compared with their vast native trade, its gross amount is small; and both the export of bullion and import of opium are, to the last degree, objectionable in their eyes. We cannot be much surprised, therefore, that they should draw the conclusions which the Abbé Huc attributes to them, when he says—

"As these are the principles of Chinese government, it is easy to see that European productions will never have a very extensive market in China; at all events, as long as the Chinese remain what they are, without any considerable modification in their tastes and habits. As foreign commerce cannot offer them any article of primary necessity, nor even of any real utility (in their conception—for in cotton, raw and manufactured, they are not deficient), they will interest themselves very little in its extension, and they would see it stopped altogether, not only without uneasiness, but with a certain feeling of satisfaction."

We believe this to be very true in substance; nevertheless, some reservations perhaps are needed. When M. Huc writes of matters with which he is familiar, though not always original, he is generally correct in the main points; but when he changes the scene to India, and discusses the general bearings of our British commercial interests, he could hardly fail to get out of his depth. Thus he goes on to say that, although China would not experience "the least inconvenience," yet—

"The case would certainly not be the same in England: a total interruption of the trade with China would be for her a most disastrous event. The life and movement of that colossal power would be immediately paralysed in India; from the extremities, the evil would rapidly reach the heart, and before long there would be seen, even in the metropolis, symptoms of a mortal malady. Her possessions in India are the most fertile source of the wealth and power of Great Britain, and these possessions are nourished by China. The English are perfectly aware of this, and that is why they have in these latter years bravely taken the resolution to endure all the offences of the Chinese Government rather than, by coming to a new rupture with it, arrest the great commercial movement which is one of the principal sources of the prosperity of India."

That the trade with China is one in which India and Great Britain, both, are deeply interested, is very certain ; that any sudden loss of this trade would be a serious embarrassment, is not less true ; and that the British Government are, and have been, naturally anxious to avoid so untoward an event as an interruption would be, with or without hostilities and war, are all facts which do not admit of dispute. But that the existence of the British and Indian empire does *not* depend upon the continuance of trade with China, is to us a still more assured fact. We could either produce our own tea, within a short period, from Assam and adjoining territories, *or do without it*, as we did before and many continental nations do at this moment, without seriously deteriorating in national importance or health ; and as for our £6,000,000 of revenue, it is simply a duty upon an article of general consumption,—a tax out of the pockets of the consumers,—and we should find means of raising it on other imports,—coffee, sugar, chocolate, &c., to which tea would give place. As regards our *manufactures*, what China takes is not worthy of mention, averaging little more than two per cent. of our annual export. As regards India, there would no doubt be great temporary embarrassment, from the large capital invested, and the extent of land occupied in the growth of opium ; and neither the revenue, nor the facilities for remittance in payment of English goods and the Company's expenses in England, derived from the trade by opium with China, could be suddenly foregone without prejudice to great interests. But a rapid extension of railroad from the cotton and opium-growing districts to the coast, might soon replace the latter by the former, to the permanent and great benefit, we are very much inclined to think, of both countries. It is not altogether such a matter of national life or death as M. Huc has been led to conclude, therefore : it might be a great ultimate benefit, in developing the resources of India, and drawing closer the ties between it and Great Britain. And if, as has often been suggested, the Americans desire to see the opium trade interfered with, as a means of crippling us and benefiting them, we take leave to doubt, as regards them especially, the policy that would bring things to that issue. It is not probably so much an absorbing and overruling *interest* on the one hand, or unwillingness on the other to abide the risk of attempting some change, which has sometimes kept us passive under great provocations from the Chinese since the signing of the treaty, but a difficulty that never seems to have struck the worthy Father,—namely, that *taking*

*China as it is*,—its rulers and population, with all the inherent obstacles to the success of any efforts to amalgamate or draw closer the bonds of commerce and amity between Western States and the Chinese Government,—it has not hitherto seemed very clear by what course of policy that which was most objectionable could be remedied, or the things that are really desirable obtained. With rulers of nations pretty generally, either interest, as they understand it, or fear, is the determining motive for treaties and alliances. Our last treaty with China was founded upon the latter on the part of the Chinese, and against the convictions of the Emperor and his advisers as to the *true interests of the nation*, both as regarded foreign relations with Western nations generally, and commerce, which it was evident to them must be attended with an *import of opium and an export of bullion*. Their interests remain the same; their views only have been confirmed, both as regards the political sources of danger and the moral and commercial prejudice. It is quite evident, then, that no change can be anticipated for the present from any *diplomatic* efforts. The only diplomacy that can avail in China, under such circumstances, must be that which rests upon force. And there are some things which force cannot effect. Neither nations nor individuals can, with any certainty, be made to look on you with friendly eyes by dint of cudgelling, though they may learn to respect the prowess that can at will inflict such chastisement, and, as is said of the spaniel and the walnut tree, they may be occasionally improved by the régime. Neither can the taking of cities be reasonably expected to alter in a single generation, much less in a decade, the habits, customs, and feelings of a nation stretching over half Asia, and which have grown up with them, step by step, with the slow growth of a thousand years. In so far as the rulers are concerned in creating artificial barriers, *they may be coerced* easily, and with advantage sometimes. When that has been done, the rest may probably have to be left to time. But there is a good deal yet to be done in the former direction, it must be frankly admitted; and were it only the opening of the gates of Canton, (our exclusion being avowedly an insult and an offence, and, as such, rejoiced in by the Chinese with monuments and commemorative arches of delight!) great good would be done. While we submit to anything so unreasonable and *designedly humiliating*, we struggle in vain by other means to occupy the position which our best interests in China demand.

If we would take a rational and a comprehensive view, however,

of the whole question of foreign trade with China, we must bear in mind that it is perhaps the only empire in the world, at the present day, that may be said to be by nature independent of all extraneous supplies or interchange of products with other countries, and perfectly *self-sufficing* in the fullest sense of the term. Stretching through more than twenty degrees of latitude, with every variety of soil and climate, and a self-developed civilisation which has created no artificial wants it cannot satisfy; with an overflowing, ingenious, and industrial population, given alike to manufactures and to agriculture—excelling even now in some of the former the best workshops and looms of Europe, and possessed of great ability in all—and having had decided superiority, until within the last century or two, from the earliest periods of history; with a vast, a gigantic trade among themselves, which dwarfs by comparison the whole trade of Europe, as its population and resources far exceed those of Western nations; we cannot but see that foreign trade to the Chinese must wear a very different aspect to that which it puts on when viewed by us. Even opium is not the wide-spread luxury and necessity which tea has become to the British and Americans; and this, if the Government did not see insuperable objections, could be produced to *unlimited extent on the Chinese soil*. Western manufactures are, up to the present time, in so limited a demand, that their withdrawal could only be felt over a very small area. Taking the whole foreign trade from this, an essentially *Chinese point of view*, we cannot help feeling that the arrogant boast of their rulers may not be so far from the truth as our vanity and our interests would fain make us believe, when *Liu* said that to us “China supplied the necessaries of life, while to her we brought nothing she could not well dispense with, especially if it rid the country of our undesired presence!” We suppose we *could* manage to live without either tea or rhubarb; but, undoubtedly, the first loss of the tea would entail serious inconvenience on many elderly ladies, and not a few of the strong sex; and there has since been added raw silk to an enormous amount: none of which products of the Chinese soil could be got as *well, or as advantageously to us, elsewhere.* There only remains, as a matter of consideration to China, the revenue, perhaps a couple of millions sterling in amount,—a small item in the revenues of such an empire. Commercially speaking, then, we cannot entertain the hope of holding out a lure to China sufficiently enticing to induce her to close her eyes to any dangers or prejudices inseparably connected with her foreign relations.



Although this conclusion may neither be very flattering to our pride nor encouraging to our manufacturing and commercial interests, it is better that we should know and accept the truth, than go on either diplomatising or speculating, under delusions which can only mislead, and may in the end land us in some slough of despond, from which it may not be easy once more to gain *terra firma* as a base of operations.

We see, as the only conclusion consistent with well-ascertained facts, that under the head of commerce we encounter two antagonistic influences based upon their principles of political economy, and strengthened by moral considerations of very general, not to say universal, acceptance throughout the nation. The first rests upon the axioms not yet repudiated in Europe, except very partially, that wherever the balance of trade is against a nation requiring the fragment of some of her imports in bullion, the trade inflicts a loss, and diminishes the resources of a State. This is the condition of foreign trade in China, *and these are the opinions entertained by rulers and people*. The second class of influences is inseparably connected with the first; but from certain peculiarities these give a character of moral condemnation to the whole. Not only is the trade objectionable on the ground of a balance to the yearly extent of some 10,000,000 dollars against China, but it consists in the exchange of *useful* Chinese products against foreign articles that to them are superfluous,—and not only superfluous, and to the last degree injurious and demoralising, (opium being the cause of an adverse balance of trade, consequently of the export of bullion,) but the instrument of vice and evil which is rapidly spreading among the population, to the ruin of many, and, the Chinese at least believe, to the serious injury of all who indulge in it. It is very clear, then, that if opium in one sense afford a means of laying down funds advantageously for the purchase of Chinese produce, and thus materially promote foreign commerce, on the other hand it not less certainly raises a *popular and governmental* hostility to all trade, and to such a degree, that the extension of the two must be held essentially incompatible in a *political point of view*. If the import of opium into China, by supplying facilities of a monetary kind, tends to remove one class of obstacles, it creates, by the export of Sycee, and strenuous opposition of the Imperial Government at the same time, another of a more insuperable character to the improvement of political and commercial relations. Whether the ultimate result is a gain or a loss, may admit of some discussion; but not the

fact that antagonistic tendencies are thus brought into active operation.

If it be inquired, then, whether in the trade, or the mode in which it is conducted, and the inseparable conditions of its prosecution, there is anything inimical to the true interests of China,—its peace or prosperity,—or otherwise offensive, and calculated to keep up hostile feelings, we see in these facts a partial answer. We do not go into the opium question as to its moral bearings, and the discussion of its place among the narcotics and intoxicating matters employed by man to drown his cares, or help him to bear them, both objects of universal desire. Whether it is an evil only in its abuse, or necessarily and wholly evil in all its tendencies and influences, is a large question which would cause too wide a digression from the more practical object we have in view. We must be content to take *the conclusions to which the Chinese have come in the matter*, as being that which determines the *animus* and course of their foreign policy. As unmitigated condemnation and hostility are the undoubted result, its incompatibility with the satisfactory progress of foreign trade generally must be obvious. As regards the other points, there is doubtless much connected with the residence of foreign mercantile communities at the ports,—their life generally, and mode of conducting their trading transactions, and paying custom-house duties,—which tends to strengthen the hostility arising from the nature of the trade, and its economical results. And we should ill discharge the duty we have undertaken, if we shrunk from all reference to such facts.

If we are simply to assert that the trade, and the mode of conducting it by foreigners, personally and by aid of unscrupulous shroffs and servants under their orders, have constituted, since the signing of the treaty at Nanking, an uninterrupted series of provocations offered the Chinese, we should no doubt be accused of gross exaggeration and generalisation of partial facts. Nevertheless, it is difficult to come to any other conclusion: only, we are far from laying the blame exclusively on those engaged in the trade. It must in justice be divided; and a large portion will fall to the foreign and the Chinese Governments respectively,—the first for making treaties based upon impossible conditions of trade; the second for a laxity and corruption which deprived the merchants of that *protection they were entitled to look for and to claim by treaty*. The result of these two facts has been, necessarily, to place the merchant in a false position, in which to be honest and thrive was made simply

impossible ; and such overpowering inducements were offered to irregularity, that no Government had a right to expect any other result than the open and habitual violation of custom-house laws and provisions of treaties, and, under pleas furnished by the shortcomings of the principal contracting parties,—the treaty powers,—the inauguration of a vast system of fraud, trickery, smuggling, and at last *coining*, to supply deficient currency, which must reflect more or less of discredit on all concerned ! Corrupt custom-houses make dishonest and lax traders,—a truth so universally confirmed by experience, that we must accept it as a necessary consequence, however repugnant an optimist's views of human nature ; trick, and fraud, and robbery being resorted to as measures of self-defence, and justified, by otherwise honorable men, on a principle of “resistance to an intolerable wrong under the sanction of superior force.” Treaties gave foreign merchants a right to trade, and the Chinese Government to levy maritime duties ; but also entailed a mutual obligation on the contracting powers to ensure the *equal levy of these duties upon all alike*. Failure in this condition vitiated the whole contract ; and failure should have been foreseen from the beginning, for the Chinese Government was wholly unprovided with the necessary machinery and instruments,—*well-informed, honest, and vigilant custom-house administrators*.

Duties that are equally levied upon different flags and upon all individuals alike engaged in the same trade, become, no doubt, an instrument for the infliction of injury, for which there is neither redress nor limit. Under such a régime it is impossible, as we have said, to be honest and thrive ; and it is for Governments, who make treaties, to take care their subjects are not, under its provisions, reduced to so cruel an alternative as *ruin or fraud*. We are quite ready to admit that the three treaty powers have all failed in this, and given undoubted and just cause of complaint to those who embarked capital on the faith of a protection which they find to their cost, when it is too late, does not exist. Our own treaties, as those of France and America, rest upon a double fallacy, fatal to their working without some special adaptation, and as prejudicial to the best interests of trade, as it is demoralising to the merchant and inimical to a mutual good understanding between the Chinese and the foreign Government. This twofold fallacy consisted, first, in the assumption that as it would be the interest of the Chinese Government to collect the whole of the duties upon

foreign trade, on all flags and individuals without distinction, they both *could* and *would* do so; secondly, in the conclusion that if they did not, the *penalty would fall alone on them*. Nothing can be more evident than the utter inability of the Chinese Government—lax and corrupt in all its administrative system—to contend with the dishonesty of their own officials on the one hand, and the unscrupulous devices of foreign traders on the other, under cloak of treaties which withdraw them from Chinese jurisdiction. This would be the result even without the additional difficulties arising from the want of a common language; so that the Chinese alone would find it impossible to collect the duties completely or impartially on foreign shipping, by the scheme contemplated in the treaties. The physical and moral appliances are alike deficient. Unaided by foreign employés, experience has demonstrated the impracticability of the task imposed upon them by these treaties. But it did not need experience to demonstrate the other truth,—that *failing* this, although the Chinese Government would be losers of a certain amount of revenue (of small moment to such an empire, as we have shown), yet the *chief penalty* and the *greatest loss* would fall upon the foreign trade by its total demoralisation,—the introduction of an element of uncertainty into all commercial transactions, and the absence of all security against the most unequal levy of duties as regarded either individuals or flags. Such have been the injurious fruits hitherto; and that he is not protected from injuries so patent and grievous, may very justly be subject of complaint, we conceive, on the part of the merchant. But all this being admitted, and the necessity for change, and the effective intervention of Government also, still the argument for a resort to trick, and all the frauds of erroneous manifests, false returns of weights, and compromises with dishonest officials, is miserably unsatisfactory; and looking at it from the Chinese side, what could the Emperor of China conclude from such an argument? What does the honest merchant himself think of it? Are we not fain to conclude that one of their own organs, a commercial paper of the northern port of Shanghai, gave a right expression of their experience, when the editor in a recent article apropos to a spurious and forged *coinage* introduced by foreigners (to meet a deficiency in genuine Carolus dollars of Spain, declares such coinage to be “sculptured lies issued by the base to delude the credulous,” and further confesses the fear that “commerce is not the best preservative of the moral perceptions, still less commerce in China; a dulness insensibly steals on the sharpest edge, and fresh temp-

tations are surely unnecessary. It is such systems as this which coupled two words together in antithesis which should have been bound in harmony, and made the term 'commercial morality' a synonym for the loosest expediency."

Are these men to be admitted into the great markets of Chinese commerce in the interior, with advantage either to the revenue of the State or the morality of the people? We say nothing of the opium grievance, in which the Government of Great Britain must be looked upon as the chief agent; but what *can* be said save that by force we compel the Chinese Government (for it is a species of compulsion, since fear of consequences prevents their resistance) to tolerate a traffic they *believe* dishonoring to themselves and demoralising to the people, at the same time that it impoverishes the whole country by withdrawing its bullion to an enormous annual amount? Shall we place any of these conditions among their natural motives for desiring a closer intercourse?

If we speak out thus boldly on what an honest man must needs consider *the enormities of a whole system* prevalent in China,—and a statesman can hardly fail to see that it is creating each day new barriers to any improvement in our political relations, or increased facilities for commerce where these are most needed, *in the interior of the empire*,—it is because we think it not more vicious in principle than suicidal in policy. It is that we are wearied with watching the demoralising effect of pernicious legislation on British merchants especially,—men who have to maintain a priceless reputation for truth, honor, and good faith, and should not forget that the character of the nation is involved in theirs; that Great Britain owes her wealth and power to her commerce, and her commerce is due to the superiority of her merchants and manufacturers over all competitors in their *reputation for honesty and truth*. It is because we know and are sure that there are among them many who, in all the private relations of life, are strictly honorable and worthy of regard, and few perhaps who do not feel in their heart such a system at once repugnant and degrading, or who would not gladly join their efforts to establish a better order of things, if that could be done without entailing upon them commercial ruin, or a struggle in which there could be no equality or justice either. It is, finally, because we have ever looked upon commerce as the true herald of civilisation, penetrating into all the dark corners of the world to carry new light and good will on its wings, and one of the greatest benefactors of mankind,—the human agency appointed under a Divine dispensation to work out man's emanci-

pation from the thralldom and the evils of a savage isolation,—the precursor of Christianity in these later days, linking together in bonds of mutual interest and amity the most widely-separated races,—bonds which fast supply the place of higher motives to peace and good will by conferring material benefits in the supply of national and ever-increasing wants, and then create new elements of strength to resist whatever tends to break the alliance. Such is *not* the tendency of trade in China under existing arrangements, and we deplore it. Commerce, not allowed to fulfil her true mission, but prostituted and degraded, is laying up seeds of future war and desolation; and the merchant and the statesman are alike interested in seeing the conditions promptly altered and amended.

We wish the subjects of grievance gathered against us as trading communities, by the Chinese, from their intercourse with us at the ports, were *even* limited to irregularities in the transaction of commercial affairs. But they are not; and as affairs stand at present in China, we doubt whether even these do not sink into insignificance by the side of those which originate in the most unwarranted interference with the highest functions of Government, and in a tampering and intermeddling with insurrection and intestine struggles, on the part of foreigners and often residents, which in any more civilised State would have inevitably led to the expulsion from the land of all directly or indirectly concerned, or of whole communities compromised by the illegal acts of a portion, and to the probable interruption of all relations between the countries. Enough has been recorded in the local journals to show that there were acts of foreigners at Shanghai—in which some at least of the parties concerned were merchants, and persons of more or less repute—for *which it is impossible to set up any valid defence in the eyes of the Chinese*, or indeed any impartial person,—some acts springing from licentiousness, others from the indulgence of an ill-regulated sympathy with a people assumed to be “battling for civil and religious liberty, and against a worn-out despotism” (the “people” being a horde of the greatest ruffians in China,—horse-boys, pirates, and members of secret societies, devoting to merciless pillage a rich and peaceable city; but had they all been Pymys and Hampdens, or Washingtons, the objection would be valid). Others helped the people for *profit*, and thus, open sympathy, counsel, food, guns, and ammunition, passed daily from a foreign settlement, held sacred from the intrusion of imperial troops on the ground of absolute neutrality, into a blockaded city, with the professed object of prolonging the defence against the

Emperor's forces ! When at last, by the strenuous efforts of the Consular authorities, and French force,—which had a quarrel of its own with the insurgents,—the foreign settlement *was fairly isolated*, and the city fell, as it necessarily must when all foreign aid was cut off, report confidently affirms that it was a member of a British firm who saved the horse-boy, chief of the insurgents, gave him shelter, and carried him away disguised as his servant under the protection of the British flag,—the Chinese authorities having put a price of 20,000 dollars on his head ! And yet, if the General-in-Chief had marched in his troops and made seizure of this gentleman's property for his high-handed and illegal interference, what an outcry would have been raised by the British public in China and elsewhere, and how unhesitatingly would treaty-rights have been invoked, as though treaties were only to be held binding upon Chinese, and to be trampled on with impunity by foreigners ! We know it has been the practice, though never sanctioned either by treaties or international law, for foreign ministers residing in another State to draw a broad line between political offenders and ordinary criminals ; and in some extreme cases, to claim, by an ingenious fiction of ex-territoriality, *for their official residence* immunity from search for the seizure of such offenders, though known to be under their roofs. But the utmost stretch of such pretensions will not cover acts of this nature in the case of private individuals. And it is an assumption of a right which no civilised Government would ever recognise or tolerate, that plotters against the Government, and enemies of the public peace, in arms against the sovereign, should be thus screened from the legal consequences of their acts. In this instance it was the more unpardonable, that if there were any generosity in it, it was the generosity of an individual at the expense of a whole community, and at the cost of a breach of good faith, which compromised the sovereign whose subject he was, and the interest of the nation to which he belonged. We have spoken strongly ; but that it may be seen there was good cause, let our readers take the following evidence of the American Commissioner, who was an eyewitness, and had ample means of information *as to what was going on around him*. He writes to the Secretary of State of the United States in one of his despatches :—

“ The sympathisers are all foreigners, not Chinese ; and I regret to say that I have heard of several instances in which foreigners have been seen on the walls during engagements. They make practical suggestions in *gunnery* to the insurgents, and some, who are indiscreet, urge the rebels.

to hold out to the 'last extremity,' and throw every obstacle their ingenuity can invent in the way of the imperialists. There is no adequate reason for this in any prospect of an amelioration of the condition of the people of China from a prolongation of *this* struggle or of any other, unless at the termination of a long civil war, which will educate the Chinese to a knowledge of the science of war in the bitter school of a bloody experience. Now, and here, the prolongation of this struggle is but to effect the paralysis of commerce, and the reign of lawless violence, and to expose to disease in camp and garrison, thousands of men who are worth nothing as soldiers; and, superadded to all this, to bring down upon the poor of this vicinity all the horrors of want and famine.

"I am yet to be convinced that a systematic disregard of the rights of others, and the usurpation of powers within their territory not conceded, and for which the only excuse that can be found is the weakness of China, will ever incline the Chinese to enlarge the margin of their intercourse with other nations.

"There are degrees of respectability even in 'fillibusterism'; and of all the species of this vice among nations, that is the last with which I desire to connect my name, which treads upon the rights of the powerless, and disregards, in intercourse with the weak, the principles of conduct that are scrupulously observed towards the strong. I have no ambition to disgrace the United States as their representative, by professing friendship to this power, yet, by secret exertion, to attempt its destruction; and in so doing to make myself guilty of a crime denounced by the laws of the United States with the penalty of death, of which laws I am now, in China, the ultimate administrator. I have not a desire to instigate a rebellion against even the Emperor of China, or to cheer on an insurrection, the purposes of which are unknown to me, and probably not understood by the insurgents themselves."

Shall we, on the strength of such proceedings, ask for leave to trade at Soo-chow or the great central marts, when there is a chance that *Tae-ping-wang*, or the first pirate or horse-boy who can gather elements of disturbance about him, will receive efficient aid and sympathy from foreigners? When the British Government proposes to the Emperor of China the removal of restrictions, and free access to the interior for British subjects *in order that they may extend their trade*, would it not be a perfectly unanswerable argument for refusing, that their presence in the interior would be too dangerous to the peace of the realm, and that no security exists against the grossest abuse of the rights and privileges of treaties by foreigners, either for *purposes of profit or political propaganda*? •

We have hitherto considered the antagonistic influences at work in China, in connection with its foreign relations, under two aspects chiefly,—the social, and the economical or commercial. These, we have seen, are neither few nor insignificant, and in their



cumulative force, constitute a barrier offering serious obstacles to further advance by peaceable negotiation. We come now, however, to a class of influences of a very different order, in which the religious and the political elements predominate, and are very much mingled together. Balked by numerous social and economic dissonances, the Chinese statesman, with these additional arrows in his quiver, is armed at all points, ready for diplomatic fence, and instinct with no very friendly dispositions. We should, however, give a very imperfect, partial, and altogether erroneous view of China in her foreign relations, as well as of those influences among the Chinese which at the present moment are most active in her foreign policy, if amidst the various causes of indifference and contempt on the one hand, and more active hostility on the other, we omitted the religious and missionary conditions which so vitally influence the question of further progress or improvement in her relations, in a manner so *effective and significant* as to have come and control the foreign policy of the Court at Peking more decisively than any other of the many conditions, dissension or antipathetic, to which we have hitherto referred. And this, principally because both rulers and people probably see in this direction an element of greater danger, and one which strikes a keynote of fear, rousing a corresponding feeling of hatred and anger.

This unpropitious influence of religious elements in the State-policy, and the bias of the rulers of China, appear to be equally inimical to the *conversion of the Chinese, as a nation, to Christianity*, and to the improved *political relations* on which *all access to the country depends*,—the only two admitted objects of European intercourse. This is so important a fact, that even were it less likely to be hotly contested, we feel called upon to support our opinion by such evidence as leaving little room for doubt shall bring our readers another stage towards a knowledge of the whole truth; and, if we are not greatly mistaken, to this conclusion, that the remarkable and admitted want of success in the missionary labours of the present time, as of all past ages, in China, may be traced to well-ascertained causes, some of which are contingent on the means adopted, and the particular course taken, by the missionaries themselves; others, again, are of a more absolute character, not contingent upon the shifting or transitory efforts, misdirected or otherwise, of any body of men, but upon natural causes. Among these obstacles to satisfactory progress or permanent effect, which we deem entirely conditional and temporary,—contingent upon the means brought to bear, and not inherent in the subject,—

we trace throughout, first, a want of unity in the teachers of the religion, and the things taught; next, a glaring contradiction, patent to the observation of those whom it is sought to convert, between the doctrines and the practical illustration they receive in the lives of foreigners in China, and the policy of Governments professing Christianity; and lastly, the hostility of the native Government. And this hostility of Government, again, plainly takes its origin from a double source,—the one to be traced to the means adopted by the evangelising agents, with the open or covert support of foreign Governments; the other, inherent and inseparable from all efforts in this direction, because they are, and must be, pregnant with a danger which menaces with destruction all Government founded on Pagan institutions and absolute despotism. In this order, then, we propose to consider the whole subject in a comprehensive spirit, though, necessarily, very briefly and imperfectly as regards the details. We can, indeed, give little more than the outline, which, however, can easily be filled in by any one taking sufficient interest in the inquiry to pursue the subject.

We will first take a glance at the past and present fruits of missionary enterprise within the limits of the Chinese empire, and under the guidance of one who cannot be suspected as a witness *against* the success of these efforts; for, in the first place, his evidence is spontaneous, and in the next, his best title to honor among men is the devotion of a great portion of his life, despite of all dangers and discouragements, to preach the gospel to those who “hearing would not hear” on this very field of exertion. We speak of the Abbé Huc, the Lazarist Missionary. Neither ill-informed on the subject, nor unfriendly to the cause, we should look in vain elsewhere for testimony less open to suspicion, or more decisive in support of the general view we have undertaken to establish as the only true one. M. Huc, indeed, puts foremost among the conditional causes of failure as to the result in missionary labours, one on which we have not touched,—the universal scepticism and indifference of the Chinese people, the materialistic and low utilitarian views of the whole nation,—offspring of two prolific errors—a false philosophy and a sensual nature. But that we may do no injustice, although differing somewhat from the writer as to the precise weight which should be attached to the obstacles springing from this source, we also will place them in the foreground of our picture, where they will form a fitting introduction to the more serious matter we

have to introduce to our readers. Looking on China in its religious aspect, then, and from a specially missionary point of view, M. Huc speaks strongly of the scepticism and universal spirit of indifference pervading all classes; and, after remarking that the disciples of Confucius represent the Rationalists of all times, who deny other or higher motive to be necessary than such as may proceed *from a pure system of ethics*, and have done much to stifle in the people every religious sentiment, he goes on to say—

“In reality, the religion and the doctrine of Confucius is a system of *Positivism*. Little do the Chinese care about long philosophical lucubrations; little for questions concerning the origin, creation, and end of the world. They ask of time, only what may suffice for life; of science and letters, only what is required to fill official employments; of the greatest principles, only their practical consequences; and of morality, nothing but the political and utilitarian part. In a word, they are at the present day what many in Europe are striving to become. They put aside all ~~grand disputes~~, all speculative questions, to attach themselves to the positive. Their religion itself is only a kind of civilisation; and their philosophy, the art of living in peace, of commanding and obeying (a utilitarian and socialist experiment on the grandest scale the world has yet seen).”

Again :—

“The State has always retained as a civil institution, the worship paid to the spirits of heaven and earth; of the stars, the mountains, and the rivers, as well as to the souls of deceased relations: it is an external religion for official personages and literary men who aspire to any office; but no one regards it as anything more than a social institution, the meaning of which may be interpreted in different ways, and from which no consequence need be drawn. The worship has no priests and no idols. The magistrate practices it within the sphere of his own jurisdiction; and the emperor himself is the patriarch, or head of it. Generally, all literary persons, and those who propose to become such, attach themselves to it, though often without renouncing practices borrowed from other religions. But conviction does not seem to have anything to do with the matter in either case; and habit alone induces them to conform to ceremonies which they themselves turn into ridicule,—such as divination, casting horoscopes, and counting lucky and unlucky days; all which superstitions are in great vogue throughout the Empire. Whatever is least vague and most serious in the religion of the Chinese, is absorbed by the worship of Confucius.”

Never has it been given to any other man to exercise so extensive an empire over his fellow-creatures as Confucius has,—and this through more than 2,000 years uninterruptedly,—or to receive homage so like true worship, although he made no pretensions to divinity or inspiration, as is usual among founders of sects. The foundations of empire, whatever its nature in other countries, have always been laid either in military power, superstition, or religion in some form: in China this empire of Confucius, who lived 400

years B. C., rests on none of these ; for the system of ethics to which he has given such celebrity is not a religion in the proper sense of the term, though it may have become what in French would justly enough be designated a "*culte*." How comes it that no Christian missionary, preaching a religion of Divine authority, has never been enabled,—we do not say to get high unexampled influence, but any influence, either extensive or lasting? Of the second religion in China, regarded by its professors as the *primitive religion of the ancient inhabitants*—the *Taoist* doctrine taught by the famous *Lao-tze*, the contemporary of Confucius—there is more of the appearance and form of a religion, but as little of the substance. The individual existence of spirits and demons, independently of the parts of nature over which they preside, is more fully recognised by it ; and their priests and priestesses, devoted to celibacy, have no other vocation than to perform various rites—magic, astrologic, and necromantic—which mark the superstition. They are called Taoists, or, in Chinese, *Tao-sze* (doctors of reason), because their fundamental dogma is that of the *existence of the primordial reason that created the world*. It is but justice, however, to the memory of the founder of so long-lived a religious system to state, that M. Abel Remusat, after a labourious examination, came to the conclusion that he has much reason to complain of the wrong done to him by his unworthy disciples. "Instead," he remarks, "of the head of a sect of jugglers, magicians, and astrologers, seeking for the elixir of immortality, and the means of reaching heaven by raising themselves through the air, I found in his book a true philosopher, a judicious moralist, an eloquent theologian, and a subtle metaphysician." M. Hue bears testimony to the same effect, with probably a less intimate knowledge of the subject ; for he says :—"The opinion of the Chinese philosopher on the origin and constitution of the universe present no ridiculous fables or monstrous absurdities : they bear the impress of a noble and elevated mind ; and in the sublime reveries that distinguish them, they present a striking and indisputable resemblance to the doctrines professed a little later in the schools of Pythagoras and Plato." There seems, indeed, to be sufficient evidence that the source was the same ; yet it is strange that with philosophers rivalling the best of Grecian mould—the type of man's finest development—whose doctrines have found an acceptance for more than twenty centuries, and amidst a population exceeding in number the rest of the civilised world—this same people, with merely a residuum of nationalism, should

have sunk so low in the moral and mental scale of civilisation in these times! The Greeks, too, fell low enough, God knows, after having achieved an immortality for their race; but political causes can be traced to account for their subsequent degradation,—causes not in operation when they attained their brilliant apogee; whereas the Chinese, for aught we can see, and as far as regards outward conditions of government and liberty, were not very differently situated then and now. The insufficiency of the merely ethic element to elevate or maintain a people in the higher regions of moral and social development, and provide for their progressive advance, seems alone to account for such a phenomenon—nay, more: not only does this long and exclusive worship of a “pure-reason” principle seem to impoverish a nation’s spirit, but, by drying up the fountains of higher moral and religious impressions, to render them in great degree incapable of advance towards perfection in any other direction, and equally unfit them, after the lapse of ages, to receive divine light or truth, when brought to their door. How otherwise account for the repeated dying-out of the Christian germs of faith plentifully scattered over the Empire, and at more than one epoch nurtured and fostered under imperial sanction and patronage, until time was afforded for the religion to take deep root in the soil? The moment the sunshine of Court favor was withdrawn, or an adverse season was experienced, there was always shown a total want of stability; and the seeds could only be likened to those scattered on the road-side and in stony places in the parable: for when tribulation or persecution arose, Christianity in all its forms died rapidly out. So entire is the proof, that M. Huc recounts how a century or more after the grand dissension of the Dominicans and Jesuits, and the Papal decision setting at naught the Emperor’s authority as to his own subjects on a question of national rights and institutions of Government—which led to the peremptory expulsion of all missionaries, and the destruction or unrelenting persecution of their converts—not a trace was to be found of the faith, even amongst once flourishing communities of Christians of one or two generations!—a fact sufficiently significant and discouraging so far as the merely human means employed are concerned in the conversion of such a nation. Nor does this difficulty arise, as we have been endeavouring to show, from any bigotry or superstitious reverence for other dogma; on the contrary, as M. Huc admits, “whatever may be said of the philosophical ideas of *Lao-tze*, his disciples, the Doctors of Reason, do not at present enjoy any great popularity.

'The superstitions to which they abandon themselves are so extravagant, that the most ignorant make them an object of sarcasm.' The same observation applies to the third and only remaining religious system recognised in China—Buddhism. It appears that towards the middle of the first century of our era, the Emperors of the dynasty of Han admitted Indian Buddhism officially into their dominions, and it spread rapidly, with its idolatrous worship and material representations of the Divinity, among the Chinese, under the name of the religion of Fo, an imperfect transcription of the name of Buddha. This vast religious system must have been to the Chinese mind—rendered arid by the abstraction of all religious element in the Confucian and Taouist systems founded on Reason only—like the descent of gushing waters through a parched desert. Mr. Edkins, a missionary of the Congregational body at Shanghai, has recently devoted much learning and patient labour to trace the influence of Buddhism and Confucianism on the popular mind of China; and in a series of elaborate papers printed in the *North China Herald*, he has, we think, traced the working and respective weight of these elements with singular ability and effect. One remark bearing upon the view taken in the text we must quote :—

" Holding such cheerless views as the Confucianists did of the destiny of man, it is not to be wondered at that the common people should desert their standard, and adopt a more congenial influence. The language of daily life is now thoroughly impregnated with the phraseology of retribution and a separate state, attesting the influence of Buddhism on the nation at large. And the Buddhist immortality embraces the past as well as the future; so the popular notions of China extend to a preceding life as much as to a coming one."

It spoke to them of a creative omnipotent God; a Divine incarnation; a Man-God, who came into the world to enlighten men, to redeem them, and point out to them the way of salvation; and this idea of a redemption of the human race by a Divine incarnation M. Huc testifies to being so general and popular among the Buddhists, that " we have everywhere found it reduced to a neat formula, expressed in remarkable terms. If we addressed to a Mongol or Thibetan this question, ' Who is Buddha?' he replied instantly, ' The Saviour of men.' " And he goes on to observe :— " The marvellous birth of Buddha, his life and his instructions, contain a great number of moral truths and dogmas professed in Christianity, and which we need not be surprised to find also among other nations, since the truths are traditional, and have always belonged to the heritage of humanity."

Without going to the latter part of the question, as to how the nations of Higher Asia and the Nomad tribes of Tartary became possessed of these and other doctrines, we cannot fail to be impressed with what, to us, would seem a providential disposition, in the circumstance that over a vast empire of some 300,000,000 inhabitants, all conversant with the same language, three different systems have from ancient times been *received* among them as religious embodiments of the truth; and in each of these are to be traced, in distinct lines, however fragmentary and mingled with grosser matter, many of the most essential, even in their mystical import, of the *elements and doctrines of the Christian religion*. In the doctrines of Confucius, with some allowance made for imperfections and exceptional blemishes, are pure and enlightened ethics. In the Taoist system is to be found the doctrine of a first cause—Reason defined as a being ineffable, uncreated, ~~who is the type of~~ the universe, but who has no type but himself. Like Pythagoras, the founder of this sect regards human souls as emanations from the ethereal substance, and supposes that after death they are re-united with it; and agreeing with Plato, he refuses to the wicked the faculty of re-entering the bosom of this Universal Soul. “Like Pythagoras, too, he gives to the first principles of things the names of numbers, and his cosmogony is in some measure algebraical. He attaches the chain of being to him whom he calls *One*, then to *Two*, then to *Three*, who, he says, have made all things.” The Buddhist, as we see, carries the Chinese mind onward to a Divine Incarnation, the Saviour of men, and the Redemption of the world. Thus scattered through the three systems of faith and philosophy combined, which alone have found lodgment or acceptance in the popular mind of China—known, and more or less generally professed in this day by the influential and the learned of the land,—the great, and even the most mysterious dogmas of our Christian faith find a representation; and these popular creeds furnish, we conceive, a means of communicating, by *ideas and language with which they are already familiar*, and accustomed to regard with more or less of respect, doctrines otherwise hard to be conveyed in intelligible form in any foreign idiom, and a true faith when stripped of the errors and superstitions which are naturally attached to the religious practices of a people imperfectly instructed. To us it would appear, were we engaged in missionary labours with an oriental race like the Chinese—whose habits of thought are so alien and antagonistic to ours, and with a language so deficient in the very means of expression wanted to convey

European ideas,—it would seem to us, we say, little less than providential, that deep in the heart of their popular systems of theology and philosophy the self-same ethical, moral, and religious ideas should have been enshrined for ages, however disfigured or disguised beneath the puerilities of a pagan worship, and given in a language familiar to every educated inhabitant, applicable to the living truth we wish to convey. We are strongly impressed with the conviction that by the able adaptation of such *instruments of thought and expression* as these popular systems supply, will the Christian missionary best open a way to the general reception of the Divine truths and doctrines of Christianity. What *Confucius* taught and *Lao-tze* expounded cannot but meet acceptance and respect from the Chinese mind, however little they may be disposed to act up to their precepts. And to establish the identity of the lessons of their time-honored sages with leading Christian tenets, is to remove in *China* a host of prejudices and objections attaching to that which is both novel and foreign in its origin; while, as regards the central mystery of our faith—which the wisest must accept without vain efforts to accommodate it to the reasoning powers of a finite mind,—is it nothing that the race to whom we would convey the lesson has already admitted the fundamental and most mystic idea of the whole?

Since writing the above, we are glad to find by a passage which has only just met our eye, that we do not stand alone in the opinion expressed. Dr. Legge, of the London Missionary Society,—whose work on the notions of the Chinese concerning God and Spirits is the fruit of research, and full of valuable matter,—we see, fully shares in this opinion, and had already propounded it. In his Preface he says—

“It is in his own mind a most encouraging circumstance, that there is a broad standing ground in their own literature upon which the Christian missionary can take his position in communicating the truths of revelation to the Chinese. In the acknowledgments of many of the wisest among themselves, a preparation is made for the unfolding of all that Scripture teaches concerning God and man. Of most of the passages which have been cited, the mass of the people are perhaps as ignorant as they are of the Bible; yet they will the more readily admit the latter when the former can be appealed to; and the author believes that the more it is sought for, the more will missionaries find among the Chinese that consciousness of God of which Tertullian speaks, even in the simple, rude, and uncultivated.”

But space will not allow us to devote more time to the consideration of questions of this nature, however interesting they may be. In a former article we touched upon some debateable points, chiefly as between Roman Catholic and Protestant missions, in



respect to the different systems and courses of action on which they relied for conquering the obstacles so thickly strewn in the path of both, when toiling through the triple lines of scepticism, indifference, and national prejudice. But here they meet on common ground. Whatever may be the sectarian differences, the great truths of Christianity find exponents in each; and these are what it most behoves them to plant in this ungrateful soil, in such manner as shall enable them *to take deep root in the national mind*. They have all hitherto signally failed. The Jesuit with his unflinching courage, his pliant spirit, and general knowledge of the world's ways; the Dominican with his more fiery and uncompromising zeal; the Protestant with his Bible and simple faith,—all have hitherto been singularly barren of fruit. Even though the first have more than once had their Constantine, a sovereign convert, and the whole influence of a Court to aid; and the last ~~have long had~~ a credit on the nearly exhaustless pecuniary resources of the Protestant Missionary-supporters, millions of Bibles and Tracts, units of converts is too nearly the result! And of the few converts how many are there that can be trusted? One of the oldest missionaries, with a candour highly honorable to him, admitted that they are indeed “few and far between.” Certainly, M. Huc's view of the present state of the nation is not encouraging:—

“The religious sentiment has vanished from the national mind; the rival doctrines have lost all authority; and their partisans, grown sceptical and inquisitive, have fallen into the abyss of indifferentism, in which they have given each other the kiss of peace. Religious discussions have entirely ceased, and the whole Chinese nation has proclaimed this famous formula, with which everybody is satisfied—*San-kiao-y-kiao*; that is, ‘The three religions are one.’ Thus all the Chinese are at the same time partisans of Confucius, Lao-tze, and Buddha—or, rather, they are nothing at all.”

Which goes far to confirm a saying of Arnold's, that universal tolerance was often very much akin to universal indifference; or, belief in anything is the first step towards believing in nothing; and thus superstition is the mother of scepticism. And certainly their formula of politeness, by which they close all discussion after a panegyric on their neighbour's religion (whatever that may chance to be), is an edifying commentary,—*Pou-toun-kiao, toun-by*—“Religions are many; reason is one; we are all brothers.” Clear it is, that if men are ever *persecuted* in this land for their faith, the persecution can only fall, as hitherto, upon the Christians, because there is a deep-rooted suspicion among the authorities that there is that in their doctrines or sacerdotaly *which is dangerous to the public peace, and subversive of their authority*.

But there is another cause, as we have stated, apart from the enmity of the rulers, which must exercise a powerful influence in steeling the hearts of the Chinese against Christianity. It is happily put by the Abbé himself, in two sentences of a conversation with a Buddhist Bonze while the missionary expounded to him why *he, the Buddhist, no longer found faith or friends in China*. "We are not at all surprised," said we, "to see the Chinese cold and careless towards a worship including so many contradictory articles of faith, and which darken and confuse common sense." "That is the thing," he replied; "*your marvellous intelligence has seized the true point of difficulty.*"

The Buddhist was no doubt too urbane to insinuate to the Christian missionary a *tu quoque*, so perfectly manifest, that among the teachers of the Gospel now in China, there are many rival creeds and sects, with different creeds and doctrines. A glance at the two or three works on the proper term in Chinese for God, all advocating different views, may suffice to show how utterly unable they are to agree on such fundamental points even as the seventh day on which a Sabbath should be kept,—the Seventh-Day-Baptists religiously keeping *Saturday*, and the rest keeping, each after their own and a different fashion, *Sunday*, as *the day appointed*—or the characters, in the hieroglyphic language of their future flocks, by which the God they worship can be most fitly described and addressed. Nor are we permitted to consider this a matter of mere philological interest; for it seems to the disputants to lie at the root of the conception which the Chinese mind, sceptic or idolatrous, is to form of Him whom they are to worship. The Roman Catholics and the two rival camps of Protestants (for as yet there are only three contending armies in the field), deem it of much importance that they have nailed their colours each to a particular selection as distinctive, and deem the public exhibition of a total and irreconcilable difference among the professors of the religion, "one and undivided," they are supposed to teach, as a lesser evil than agreement in the common acceptance of one of the three terms disputed about. Again, the Romanists, teaching their religion styled as that of *Tien-choo*, or the "Lord of Heaven," denounce all followers of "Shangti" or "Shin" of Protestant predilection as heretical: their books, tracts, and Scripture translations are characterised as the "*books of the devil*" in denunciations posted upon their chapels; while the Protestants, in their turn, anathematise the Romanists as idolators and teachers of damnable error! We affirm this to be the

truth in all its simplicity ; each party, we doubt not, perfectly conscientious, and following the line of their duty as they understand it, with of course such further divergencies in ceremonial forms of worship and of doctrines as their fundamental differences demand. With the doctrinal part of the subject we have here no concern. We are examining the human instrumentality *brought to bear upon the Chinese people for their conversion by the missionaries, in active operation*, and inquiring how far they seem adapted to effect the desired end. And we have no hesitation in declaring, as our matured opinion, that it is vain to hope for the conversion of a shrewd, a rationalistic, and a sceptical people like the Chinese, by instrumentality so imperfect, and traversed in every direction with inconsistencies and contradictions too glaring to be overlooked, even were they not daily paraded before their eyes. Divisions such as these ~~“ rend the garment of a common faith,”~~ and must be fatal to the efficiency and influence of their several representatives in a pagan country. May we not apply to this state of things in China what has been said with so much truth of the earlier days of Christianity in the West—namely, that “heathens found in the unseemly disputes of Christians a plausible excuse for not looking more deeply into a system which claimed so much power over the heart, and showed so little over the lives of its professors” ? and, unfortunately, this same commentary is only too abundantly supplied in many acts of the laity, individuals and governments, which come under the unfriendly inspection of the Chinese. So at least it must and *does* seem to them, however plausible may be the defence set up to justify or extenuate particular courses of action in relation to the commercial transactions and international polity of foreigners. This is, indeed—in the words of Abbé Huc, addressed to his brother the Buddhist Bonze, whose errors he sought to remove—“to teach them contradictory articles of faith,” and both by precept and practice “to darken and confuse common sense.” Alas ! might not the injunction of our Lord to that disciple whom Satan had desired to have, that he might sift him as wheat, apply to us in such circumstances :—“*When thou art converted, strengthen thy brethren*” ? We try to strengthen and convert while yet “in the bond” and gall, if not of “iniquity,” certainly of a divided faith, which hangs upon us in shreds, and as a rent garment of many colours, more likely to provoke criticism and ridicule than the desire to be gathered under its folds.

But if we see so much to deplore, and all the more that the

obstacles to the spread of Christianity thus created are beyond the control of ordinary human agencies, the hostility of the Chinese Government arises from other causes. In this sense nothing could well be conceived more disastrous to our future prospects in China than the proclaimed affiliation, or conversion of the insurgents, and the manifestation of sympathy on the part of foreigners with the success of the movement. In the interest of our missions it was bad; and as regards our political interests, not less impolitic. Hear what is thought on the subject by Chinese authorities, from the following passage in a memorial to the Emperor printed in the *Peking Gazette*, and circulated throughout the Empire under the highest official sanction :—

“The names of the robbers have all been sought out (the rebel chiefs are here enumerated), who all evidently joined the sect at Kin-tien. The ~~Protestant~~ sect (Shanghti) is only another designation of the Roman Catholics, but *originating with the barbarians, and flowing in poisonous streams through the middle kingdom, dyeing the customs of the country, and deluding the people; damaging the manners, and wounding the hearts of the age.*”

Opinions may of course differ as to the origin and nature of the insurrectionary movements which still continue to desolate whole provinces,—and some of the richest in China,—and to decimate their population. There was much, indeed, in the first accounts which burst upon us on the arrival of the main force at Nanking—with the Bible and the Ten Commandments for their declared guide, and a practical protest in their acts against all idolatry,—calculated to feed extravagant hopes, and throw the more excitable off their balance. Still, with our knowledge of Chinese, we think there was abundant reason for a more cautious estimate than generally prevailed; and, unquestionably, *in our treaty-relations with the existing Government, for a more reserved conduct.* The absence either of caution or reserve must be henceforth considered as having laid the foundation for additional barriers to all progress, and such an increase of distrust and hostility on the part of the ruling class, and the Court of Peking more especially, as a quarter of a century may not suffice to remove.

We have said that among the most serious obstacles to the propagation of the Gospel in China, and the conversion of its population to Christianity, was the hostility of the Government; and that this, as we believed, was partly to be considered as contingent and removable, and partly inherent in the very nature of the elements brought into contact.

In so far as this hostility is to be classed among obstacles con-

tingent and removable, we hold it depends upon the course adopted by the missionaries themselves, and by their respective Governments; and chief among them is *their intrusion into the interior*, contrary to the stipulations of treaties, and the often-repeated and declared will of the rulers, and the laws of the State. On the part of Protestants, this has hitherto been limited to temporary intrusions beyond the prescribed limits at the five ports, and some pretty long inroads into more distant localities—none the less injudicious, in our opinion, or worthy of penalty, as *infractions of a national compact*; and these have been, nominally at least, disavowed by their Governments, however naturally and justifiably the latter must have been identified under the circumstances with the acts of their subjects, when passed unpunished. On the part of the Romanists, it has consisted in a persevering and systematic *domination throughout the eighteen provinces of foreign missions*, and their agents travelling in all directions for the conversion of the Chinese; and though not *avowedly* sustained in this course by any of the treaty powers, the whole of these have in effect been taken under the protection, and made an object of *intervention and solicitude* to the French Government, which can scarcely complain if they are thoroughly and unquestionably identified with the operations of these active agents of the Roman Propaganda. Lastly, one of these contingent sources of hostility is the outcry of sympathy with the insurgents recently raised in Europe and America, and echoed at the ports by the missionaries on the spot, with some few and, we think, praiseworthy exceptions; among whom we notice the Rev. Mr. Milne, who has lately in England spoken out on the subject.

But, apart from these accidental, fugitive, or conditional causes of hostility on the part of the Chinese Government towards the Christian religion, and missionaries of whatever denomination, there are others easily recognisable as inherent and irradicable; and how far this instinct or feeling of hostility has any true foundation, is worthy of a few moments' candid consideration. But if we would deal with it worthily, or usefully to others, we must emancipate ourselves from the trammels of self-interest and prejudice, and, putting aside alike the spirit and the language of cant, treat this grave question of national and world-wide interest in the philosophic spirit it demands. M. Hue is quite right, we believe, when he says the Chinese Emperors are neither intolerant or bigoted, and are, indeed, too entirely without any religion to care for creeds, *save in so far as they interfere with temporal things*, and

among these as chiefest, their political rule. He says the Emperor Taou-quang addressed a proclamation to the people, in which he passed in review all the religions known in the Empire—Christianity included—and came at last to the conclusion that they were all false, and that they would do well to despise them altogether. We have no personal knowledge of the document in question; but it so exactly represents the thorough scepticism and indifferentism of the Chinese mind, that we see no reason to doubt the correctness of his statement. A Chinese may please his fancy, therefore, what religion he professes, provided it is not one connected with *secret societies or political objects*. “Unfortunately,” says M. Huc, “the Chinese Government has placed Christianity in this category, and it is very difficult to correct this error and introduce more just ideas.” —Very difficult indeed,—impracticable, we should say; and, ~~taken from the~~ <sup>protestant declaration</sup> *Chinese point of view*, absolute and undisputed empire, undivided control over their subjects,—is it an error? Listen to the Emperor Young-tching, who in 1724 proscribed the Christian religion, and who condescended to state his views to three Jesuit Fathers who petitioned him when the grand catastrophe of their expulsion came:—

“Certain Europeans\* in the province of Fokien have been endeavouring to defy our laws and trouble our people. The great men of the province have applied to me, and I must repress this disorder. It is the business of the Government with which I am charged, and I neither can nor ought to act now as I did when I was a private prince.”

“Gentlemen,” said Frederick the Great, about the same time, at the opposite side of the globe, “*mon métier est, d'être Roi.*” So Young-tching evidently understood his duty. But he continues:—

“You say that your law is not a false law; and I believe it. But what would you say if I were to send a troop of Bonzes and Lamas into your country to preach their law in it? How would you receive them? You wish to make the Chinese Christians, and this is what your law demands, I know very well. *But what in that case would become of us?*—THE SUBJECTS OF YOUR KINGS. *The Christians whom you make recognise no authority but you:* in times of trouble they would listen to no other voice. I know well enough that there is nothing to fear at present; but when your ships shall be coming by thousands and tens of thousands, then indeed we may have some disturbances.”

Can any one say that this was not, upon the whole, a very rational view for the speaker, as the despotic head of a great Pagan Empire, to take? Or can we feel surprise that a wide-spread

\* Spanish Dominicans settled in the province of Fokien.

opinion, extending from the Emperor to the lowest Mandarin,—that political elements of disturbance are thickly sown with the spread of Christianity in China, tending to unsettle the minds of the people and subvert the national and traditional creeds of absolute submission to the ruling powers,—*is the greatest barrier at present existing to any successful negotiations with the Chinese Government for political or commercial objects?* Universal tolerance is, to them, equivalent to a deposition of their authority; nor is it difficult to see that this must be to them a *vital question*. Not only our Christian enterprises to spread the faith, but all contact with Europeans on the part of Eastern races, has led to only *one of two results*,—either the rooting out of the sect itself in self-defence by the natives, and the total isolation of the country by a violent convulsion, as Japan to this day and China for a long period; or the assertion of a political supremacy, and the subjugation of the people, ~~introducing foreign~~ masters everywhere, of which they have living demonstrations,—the Spaniards in the Phillippines, the Dutch in Java, the Portuguese at their own doors, and the English (according to Abbé Huc) everywhere!

What, in effect, is the natural and the necessary tendency of Christianity, as the Gospels have delivered it to us, when brought to the knowledge of a pagan race living under an absolute despotism, which draws from heathen superstitions some of its authority, and mingles the worship of the gods and idolatrous practices with the reverence paid to the sovereign? *Is it not of necessity antagonistic, entirely subversive of the whole scheme of Government,* which claims for the head of the State divine honors, and places the will of the Emperor on the footing of a decree from heaven? Does it not involve the introduction of a dominion of principle and affection in a kingdom where another rule exists with which it has no affinity?—bringing in “a new *primum mobile*,” as Bacon has said in describing another principle, “that ravisheth all the spheres of Government,”—that is, in this instance, threatening to ravish from the heathen rulers all control over their own people, by the adoption of principles subversive of the established polity and institutions? Statesmen—not in China only, but in other countries—have ever been prone to protect and cherish the popular superstitions as a useful engine of government, and submit to a mummery in public which they inwardly despise. This—which forced the philosopher in ancient times into being a *political not less than a religious reformer*, and cost Socrates his life—entails, unavoidably, *the same condition on the missionary in China*. The public institutions

far *Protestantism and Romanism* may hold companionship in the evangelisation of China, or live side by side in the bonds of holy fellowship in after years, should converts, now only in hundreds, become millions.

"Shall I," writes the Editor of the *Record* in a leader some time ago,—“Shall I, therefore, fall in with this abominable delusion? Shall I foster that damnable doctrine,—that Socinianism and Calvinism are not every one of them mortal sins, like murder and adultery?—or hold out hopes to the Protestant that I will not meddle with his creed?”

An *imperium in imperio* therefore, subversive of his own rule, hostile to his supremacy, and with a gauntlet of defiance ever on the ground against all who claim liberty of conscience, to be enforced, whenever the secular power is theirs, with the arms of ~~fresh by force~~ and persecution,—this is the prospect held out to the Emperor of China by the introduction of Christianity into his empire! Is there any rational ground of hope that either he or any of his successors will ever tolerate, much less welcome as a benefit, the propagation of the faith in China, of whatever denomination the agents may be, Romanist or Protestant? And in proportion as foreign Governments are identified with these efforts, is it not evident that in this same degree will the presence of their subjects in the country be considered an evil imposed upon them by major force, and to be acquiesced in only so long as that condition shall exist? While, as regards political relations and efforts at negotiation for the extension of trade and commerce, with the view of obtaining the removal of disabling restrictions and barriers to a freer intercourse, nothing, we are persuaded, can be more vain or futile,—more utterly opposed to the ruling principle of the foreign policy of China, and the spirit of its rulers.

We have not discussed this question, it will be observed, upon any other principle than that which should govern all rational inquiry into the policy of States, and the action of natural causes. It is, in truth, bravely and candidly spoken, and no less truly and logically. Romanism is not only the most intolerant of creeds, as has been well observed, “but intolerance is its essence,—that pervading spirit without which it would not be itself, or be true to its own nature. It looks upon heresy, of whatever form (that is, dissent), not as a dangerous and deplorable error out of which men are to be persuaded or forced, but as a sin to be put down; as an insult to the Divine Majesty which calls for punishment; as a crime against the best interests of society which it is the duty of



the State to repress and prevent, as it most effectively can, with the secular power and the arm of flesh. It is bound to look upon matters in this light. *It would be untrue to itself, and self-contradictory, if it did not.*"

What is our experience in Europe of its tendencies? Is there any question that Popery does—whatever disguise by Jesuitism may be thrown about the fact—involve the maintenance, and on fitting occasions the teaching, of doctrines which subordinate all temporal authorities to the authority of the Pope, under which sovereigns have been dethroned by Papal mandates, and a whole nation either put under ban of excommunication or declared free of all allegiance to their rightful sovereigns? How long has this ceased to be the practice of the Papal tiara? Is it not to be dated back with precision to that period when the growth of civil institutions, of temporal power, and of general intelligence, with a Protestant creed, stripped the Pope of his power to carry out the principles of his Church's polity and creed? But does any one believe there is change in these, if the conditions were favourable to their development or display? And are there not large communities among the most civilised nations of Europe who conscientiously charge that religion, not only with being subversive of all temporal and legal authority, but idolatrous in its essence, and immoral in certain of its tendencies? What is the protest echoed from the Baltic to the Mediterranean, over the finest fields of Europe, and caught up by thirty millions of stout hearts on the Western continent, but the emphatic declaration of these convictions? Shall Protestant States or nations condemn the Chinese rulers if they hold the same opinions as to the tendency of Romanism, and act upon them?—a question of the adaptation of means to an end, and not of the superior claims of religion over State-policy and the material interests of nations. It is with the latter we have alone to do in the present instance; and in the interest of truth, which can never be hostile to that religion emanating from the God of truth, we think to have done good service if we have shown to conviction that whatever may be the duty of missionaries to preach the Gospel in a pagan land, their course of action in this country, under existing circumstances (speaking of human instrumentality apart from supernatural), is wanting in the necessary conditions of success, and fatal to the end they seek; that looking to the history of Christianity and the discussions and conflicts to which it has given rise among the modern nations of Europe; looking to the unquestionable pretensions of the Papal

hierarchy, by no means unknown to the rulers of China, it is *impossible* they can see in the efforts now making to Christianise the Chinese anything but elements for the disorganisation of the empire, and subversion of their authority, and an enterprise against which it is alike their interest and their duty to *employ all the powers of the State*. Lastly, that it is vain for foreign States to enter into any negotiations for the amicable revision of existing treaties, in a sense favourable to enlarged facilities for trade and improved political relations, so long as the Chinese Government feels menaced with this subversion of their authority by foreign agents, either covertly or openly protected and sanctioned by Christian States, even while infringing the stipulations of national treaties especially made for their exclusion.

Whether all the material interests of Government and people ~~should not be~~ these Christian States be held subordinate and secondary to the greater object of evangelising the world, is another question ; but we will not refuse to meet it. To the real Christian there is but one answer possible. Believing that as the eternal weal of the soul is to each individual the great aim and end of his existence here—the first duty of his life, with which no other can for a moment be placed in competition—and that this duty, first imposed upon him in his private capacity and for his own sake, is subsequently extended to all his relations, social and national, affecting the welfare of communities and of the whole race, he must, if he is consistent, feel that all other things are truly subordinate to this. Not in this direction can any doubt subsist ; he will without hesitation consent to the enunciation of the principle, and even join in the cry of missionary or martyr, and exclaim—Perish all worldly policies and commercial interests—all the material elements of national life and prosperity—of their greatness as kingdoms of the earth, or their wealth as communities—if in the Divine government of the world such have been made the conditions of success in the first and highest end of human existence, by Him who knoweth all things, and cannot err in the choice of his means for the attainment of any desired end ! But has it been so ruled that the propagation of Christianity and the conversion of the whole race should be attained only by means antagonistic to, and subversive of, good faith among nations, and all the conditions of material prosperity ? We do not believe it ; on the contrary, we see abundant reason for inferring that any train of argument leading to this conclusion must be essentially vicious in principle, and founded in fallacy. God has made the things of this world—our

bodies, faculties, and all the material engagements of life—the means by which the higher spiritual objects shall be developed and worked out. It is so in the life of the individual, and equally in that of nations. Not by trampling upon these material elements—not in disregarding or fleeing from the duties and interests indissolubly attached to them—can man attain the higher life of Christianity, but by reverently accepting them as the appointed means of progress, and faithfully adhering to the conditions. To pour contempt on these, or on the body in and by which our spirit works and receives its required development, is to repeat the old ascetic and younger Manichean error, which treated all matter as vile, and the body and material interests of the world as instruments of Satan ; which gave birth to the Simon Stylites of India and his worthy descendant Buddhidharma in China, of whom it is related that he sat with his face to a wall for nine years, which earned for him the title of the “ Wall-gazing Brahman,” and the monastic system of the Eastern and Western Churches,—the attempts after self-transcendence by self-annihilation. By and through the material world and the body, with all their joint interests and conditions of healthy existence on earth, it has pleased God to ordain that His Kingdom in Heaven shall be gained by man, and that in proportion as we are faithful and obedient to the laws by which we see both are governed, shall we near the goal. They are not really or essentially antagonistic, then, these two great fields of labour,—the material advancement or social welfare of the race on earth, and the spread of Christianity, by which its well-being in another world is promoted or secured. In His Government there are no such nullifying contradictions. It is only in our short-sighted misapprehension of the great design that we ever fall into such errors. Christianity, unless by supernatural means, in a way altogether miraculous, and apart from human agency, would speedily die out of the earth, if the social progress of the race were necessarily arrested and made to take a retrograde direction by the means employed to advance the preaching of the Gospel. Let commerce disappear—the offspring of material wants and international relations, the life of which is *good faith* among men,—and the lapse of the whole race into barbarism could not long be averted. Any efforts, therefore, to preach that Gospel, or convert heathen races to Christianity, *which necessarily involves the violation of either of these two great conditions of mutual benefit*, on which the intercourse between distant and different nations is dependent, must, in the nature of things, be

*radically vicious and wrong.* If the tendency of missionary labours, as they have hitherto been conducted in China, can be shown to be this, no fear of being deemed heathens ourselves will deter us from declaring our conviction that it is the duty of Christian States, and of all national statesmen, to see that so crying an evil should be amended, *in the interest of Christianity not less than of civilisation and commerce.*

It will be said that history furnishes conclusive evidence against the validity of this conclusion ; for Christianity in the early ages has only thus been propagated in the heathen world, amidst persecutions and hostility on the part of the rulers, and contrary to the will of the Government of the country,—in Rome, in Jerusalem, in Greece, and in Asia, wherever the Cross of Christ has been planted ; and to adopt our principle would be in ~~not~~ contradiction to the example of the Apostles and the injunctions of their Master. No doubt Christianity was in the first instance preached contrary to the will and decrees of the rulers—preached under Divine sanction. But there is this important difference in the circumstances to be borne in mind : they who preached the Gospel belonged to no country having international relations with the countries and Governments in which they travelled. No solemn engagements entered into on the part of rulers for their people were trampled on and disregarded by the early missionaries : they committed only themselves, and risked their own lives, without compromising or calling in question the good faith by which alone, in the comity of nations, engagements for their mutual benefit can be sustained. Their responsibility extended no further than an individual disregard, at their own risk and peril, of laws made by pagan rulers. Very different is the case in modern times, where the once mighty Roman Empire has been split into twenty distinct nationalities, having separate laws and special engagements with each other for the maintenance of good relations, founded on this basis and no other—the *solidarité* of a whole nation—the responsibility of the head of each State for the acts of the individuals comprising its population and subject to its laws, and of the nation itself for the conduct—in respect of foreign States with whom solemn engagements and treaties were contracted—of every citizen who owned allegiance or was entitled to the protection of the parent State. For a foreigner or Government to admit that any engagements he or they might enter into on the part of the whole nation were not binding upon individual subjects or citizens,

or that the former had not *the will* or *the power* to control the latter when infringing the provisions of a national treaty, was and always must be held equivalent to an admission of weakness, which deprives them of all the advantages treaties are meant to secure for whole nations by the acts and engagements of their rulers. When nations fall into this state, they are considered out of the pale of protection from their more powerful neighbours—outlawed by the comity of nations; and it has been held a sufficient ground at all times for the invasion of armies to reduce such insubordinate elements to subjection, and compel all the units composing the whole to obey the law, and observe the contracts entered into on their behalf by the heads, whoever these might be, with other States. This power of the ruler to answer absolutely, and this responsibility of the whole nation for the conduct of every individual, we repeat, is of the very essence of international engagements; and no sovereign or nation can claim the privilege or advantages of these,—without which there can neither be liberty, civilisation, nor commerce,—who is not in a position to fulfil with scrupulous honor and exactitude all the conditions. Treaties of peace and amity are maintained only by this course, and a departure from it brings war, and claims for reparation, as an inevitable consequence.

We contend, then, after the treaties made by Great Britain, France, and the United States with China, that not only are the Governments of these countries precluded by national good faith from encouraging, or in any way sanctioning, the infraction of special provisions made with the *declared object of preventing intrusion of foreigners into the interior of the empire*, but are bound to exert all the powers of the State to prevent such infractions in their subjects. And as regards the missionaries themselves, we must hold that they have misapplied the sanctions and texts, only adapted to an earlier period and totally different circumstances, in disregarding the stipulations of treaties; and that they can plead no right to do so from the example of the apostolic times, because there is a want of all parity in the conditions. Those missionaries, we repeat, committed themselves alone. Their lives and interests alone, and not those of the whole nation to which they belonged, were compromised and put in peril by their proceedings. They might have power to dispose of themselves; they can claim no right, at their own individual will, to dispose of the destiny of a whole nation, of which they themselves are units, and bound by the same laws and treaty-engagements; and God never requires as the appointed work of human agents in His

service, a disregard of all human obligations. Like all other aberrations from a right principle, even were the latter less obvious, we see in the results sufficient indications of the vice at the source. Our missionaries—British, French, and American—in various ways and degrees, have set at naught treaty-provisions in their indiscreet zeal to advance Christianity; and if there be one thing more evident than another, or less susceptible of contradiction in this matter, it is the fact that by these very acts they have themselves, in recent years, created obstacles of the most insuperable character to the successful prosecution of their own labours for the conversion of the Chinese,—obstacles arising from the well-founded anger and hostility of the authorities and rulers; and have at the same time barred the way to all improvement in commercial or political relations, and all extended intercourse in furtherance of material interests, by which a natural opening might be made, by bringing their respective Governments into contempt, as rulers faithless to their engagements, and authorities on whom no trust can be placed.

We have not shrunk from following out the whole chain of cause and effect to the last link. In the interests of truth and consistency this duty seemed imposed upon us. And now, if it be contended—to revert to the original argument—that it is better to serve God than Mammon, and that to a Christian State there can be no higher duty than that of spreading a knowledge of the Gospel, we have only to say, be it so. But as loyal, as God-fearing, and honest men, we say, let it be done in a way to bring no dishonor upon Him whose religion we thus adopt as the *primum mobile* of our policy with foreign States; let it not bear the opprobrium of national engagements solemnly entered into under specious pleas of amity and commerce, only to be broken and trampled in the dust as having neither force nor validity. Let not the Governments of these Christian States mingle two wholly incompatible objects, and think to reconcile them. If amity and commerce be the object of national treaties with China, let this be frankly provided for by the conditions which sound policy, in the furtherance of political and commercial interests, indicate, and let all that militates against such objects be without equivocation excluded as hostile and incongruous. If the propagation of Christianity, on the other hand, be the object of such treaties, then do no such violence to common sense as to seek to unite with it plans for the development of commerce, and the extension of friendly relations in the Chinese

Empire; because the two are not to be embodied. They are essentially hostile and antagonistic to each other, in the existing state of China.

If Christian States think that the promotion of commerce and improvement of political relations with the Chinese Empire may be combined with schemes for the evangelisation of the people, let it be frankly accepted as the condition of their treaties. But do not, as heretofore, let them enter into solemn engagements on behalf of their subjects, that they shall respect the laws of China, and by a special provision not intrude into the country beyond certain narrow limits, and then leave it to unrestrained zeal of misguided missionaries, or impatience on the part of the laity of restrictions which fetter their liberty and interpose barriers to their commercial greed or love of excitement, to defy with impunity such ~~treaty-provisions~~, on the idle plea that the remedy lies with the Chinese Government, which by treaty has the right to apprehend and send them back. The fear of collision and pretexts for international quarrels, the luxury of officials, all conspire to take from them the free enjoyment of this right; and European powers are none the less brought into disrepute by the total disregard of stipulations and treaty-obligations on the part of foreigners, sulkily acquiesced in by those under whose jurisdiction these foreigners, nevertheless, find asylum and protection. The same observation applies to many of the daily infractions of treaty and good faith in the transactions of commerce, disregard of treaty-regulations, the evasion of duties, &c. If the Chinese dared, or had any faith in our rectitude and justice—which they have not—they would, to our often-repeated charges of lax administration, and practical violations of treaty on their part, reply—“What, then, is your conduct, that you adopt this high tone of outraged virtue? We are corrupt. Does that make you honest when you adopt a policy marked by the same brand? Apart from this disturbing element of religion which your twenty thousand sects in their insane fanaticism persist, contrary to treaty and common sense, to force upon us wherever they can penetrate, is there no disregard of treaty-obligations and the most solemn pledges of national faith on the part of the laity,—no preaching of insurrection and ‘its sacred rights,’—no contradictory action of Western Governments in matters of international law, calculated to sow distrust in our minds,—no assertion of extreme rights,—no willingness to take advantage of our weakness from internal discords

or local insurrection, and refuse payment of duties, while your merchants are accumulating wealth by uninterrupted trade,—and among these, is there no disregard of all treaty-stipulations for the right conduct of trade—we will say nothing of opium, which is a monster-evil like the first to be put aside as too grave for hasty discussion,—no bringing in of contraband and prohibited goods,—no bribing of faithless servants to betray the interests of the Government,—no supply of ammunitions of war to blockaded cities, and arming of insurgents,—no hot-bed of piracy and insurrection,—no harbouring of outlaws in Hongkong,—no wandering into the interior by law and treaty prohibited, with subsequent immunity?—and where is our redress?” This, and much more to the same effect—for the list of their unredressed and indisputable grievances is long—might any clever Chinese official reply to the remonstrance of any foreign power addressing complaints to them; and it is a great mistake to suppose that there are not among them many men quite able enough and sufficiently well-informed—if they saw the opportunity or any beneficial result—to press with vigour and ingenuity this view of the question in any discussion for the revision of treaties and the modification of the foreign relations of the empire in a sense favourable to us. It has long been the practice of the Viceroy of Canton to get our newspapers and have them translated; and what are they to think of us after reading the local Press? The reply of the British, French, or American ministers—the only one open to them—“that the Chinese Government had by treaty the remedy in their own hands, and by their own *laches* brought many of the evils upon themselves,” might serve very well as a piece of special pleading, or to figure in a Vienna protocol. But assuredly it would carry *no conviction to the Chinese mind* in our favour, or be considered as anything better than a gibe at their known weakness in military resources, their distrust of the intentions of foreign Governments, and their unpreparedness for a struggle against one or more of these powers in defence of their legitimate rights,—all of which are arguments with them for exclusion and non-intercourse, and bitter fruits of the disarming and peace-at-any-price theory which, having for many ages been worked out in China to its last result, has brought *the loss of all independence with a sense of national degradation and helplessness!* And, however valid such a defence might be held in a congress of European diplomatists, it is quite evident that if this be the best we can offer the Chinese, it will not tend to promote more friendly feeling; and without better guarantee for a



remedy and the non-occurrence of such evils,—attacking alike their interests and their national dignity,—all the foreign powers of the West will knock by diplomatic agents at the gates of Peking without gaining admission, or even a hearing. Nor will any attention be paid to their proposals for the enlargement of the terms of intercourse, and the removal of restrictions on trade, or on personal liberty of locomotion in the Empire.

We have hitherto had under consideration the foreign relations of China with Western Powers under three different aspects—namely, as regards the antagonistic influences developed by social habits and manners; by material interests of commerce and the relations of political economy, as these exist among the Chinese; and, finally, by religion, considered as an element of Government, and a disturbance in which affects the stability of the whole governing machinery. This brings us to a point where the missionary question and the politico-commercial relations of Western States with China fall into the same stream, but one vexed and agitated by so many strong and opposing currents, that, in Abbé Hue's expressive phraseology, the contradictory tendencies of things are “blinding and confusing to common sense.” A clear course in the midst of these is only to be steered by keeping steadily in view the alternate ends of the navigation, with some practical knowledge of the true nature, the force and direction of the contending currents; and, from time to time, certain great landmarks may be recognised by which to shape our course, and avoid some at least of the great perils which lie in mid-channel. Among these beacon-lights of warning, we have signalised one, to disregard which is to encounter certain shipwreck; and we have been for that way tending for some time, blind to signs of danger thickening as we advance. This beacon, which Governments and missionaries are alike disposed to ignore, is the necessary and rightful subordination of all measures for evangelising the Chinese to the treaties in force, and the international law governing the relations of foreign powers with each other, and to which we have made China a party, by compelling her to recognise its obligations and accept its duties. Any departure from this law on the part of Western States is not only a violation of national good faith, but an act which saps the foundation of all beneficial and friendly intercourse. It strikes at the root of that goodly growth of mutual trust and confidence which can alone be employed with effect to bridge over the gulf between separate nationalities, and render communication and the interchange of good offices possible. It is therefore

considered merely as a matter of policy, devoid of common sense, because suicidal, and as one of principle, clearly unchristian and barbaric. To assume that a line of action bearing this description can be adopted under divine sanction, is an insult to the understanding, and can only tend to bring discredit and reproach on the authority thus involved. And the fruit bears evidence against the tree, for it is all evil. In respect to the labours of those who have sought to propagate the Gospel of Christ by means contravening the express conditions of treaties, and in defiance of the laws of the country, it must have been made very plain, we think, that only one result has followed,—hostility, the confirmed and active hostility of all the governing powers, accumulating obstacles to the missionary action as the natural consequence,—hostility and impediments not alone affecting the immediate agents and their objects as missionaries, but extending to the whole family of Western nations, who are held responsible for their acts, and to the commercial and civilising relations they desire in the national interests to maintain. So it is, that men with the best intentions never depart from a right course without provoking results the very opposite of those striven for. Far be it from us to call in question for a moment the singleness of purpose or devotion of large numbers of missionaries, Romanist and Protestant, and of many nations, all earnestly employed, according to their light, in a good work. But we think evil, and not good, is the result of those labours and the self-devotion they evince, because they have taken a false point of departure; and thus they go on more and more widely astray the longer they work.

Turning from the missionary to the political field, it is impossible to avoid being struck with another and strikingly parallel result, opposed, in like manner, to some popular theories: we allude to those advocated by Peace Societies in Europe. That to the conscious weakness of China in all military resources, and the fear of innovation which is its legitimate consequence, are mainly due the timid, suspicious, and essentially hostile spirit which animates the whole foreign policy of the country, is a result too plain to admit of much discussion. If this be true—and nothing, we think, can be clearer—this further conclusion is then forced upon us—namely, that to the efforts made to evangelise an empire comprising probably a third of the human race, and propagate a religion opposed to all war and violence—a religion of peace and good will—and to a political system which cultivates the arts of peace whilst it represses or totally excludes all warlike spirit and military virtue,

the world is indebted in this nineteenth century for the spectacle that now presents itself in China, of insuperable obstacles existing, on the one hand, to the progress of Christianity, and on the other, to the maintenance of peace and the advance of civilisation,—such a spectacle as has not been seen since the peace-at-any-price theory, worked out in the early ages of Christianity by the Greek and Roman Churches, reared generations of men under the tutelage of monks, who became as utterly emasculated as their monastic teachers, and yielded up to slavery, and the conquering arms of a more virile race, the finest kingdoms of Christendom, east and west. From the banks of the Euphrates to Constantinople, from the banks of the Nile through all the coasts of the Mediterranean, the fair isles of Greece, Spain, and Portugal, in rapid succession, were all yielded with the craven spirit of degenerate souls, perverted by false maxims to find virtue in such base submission, to the unhallowed followers of a false prophet, and the wild hordes of Asia and Arabia. Well has it been said—

“Qui de son sexe n’a pas les vertus  
De son sexe a tous les malheurs !”

The experiment has never since been tried in Europe on so vast a scale, nor among European nations. The lesson was too striking, and its effects too desolating and permanent, for any pseudo-philosophy, or logomachy of priests or schoolmen with tenets of non-resistance for a creed, ever again to receive a hearing. But in the farther East the same principle, under a purely ethical form, has been in operation, from ages long preceding Christ’s advent; and it has been reserved for China in these latter days, when our material interests and the proselytising spirit have alike tended to fix the attention of Europe on this outlying Empire, exceeding in area and population the whole European continent, to supply in its closing catastrophe another illustration, on a still grander scale, and worked out in a more complete manner upon the simple, political, and ethical basis, without any commingling of bigotry or fanaticism. There the discountenancing of all military science and virtue, and the exaggerated estimate of the value of a material civilisation and the arts of peace—systematically and unrelentingly pursued for twice ten centuries—have given to the whole experience a character truly colossal; while the absence of any external element of disturbance has divested it of all complications, and the result is wrought out with proportionate distinctness and power. This Empire of some 400,000,000 inhabitants—one people in their Mongolian

type—active, industrious, and intelligent—the producers of enormous wealth annually, both agricultural and manufactured—lies at this time helpless and prostrate, like a huge amphibious monster too long and exclusively occupied in becoming larger and fatter, forgetful of the ebbing of the waters of life, a certain depth of which was essential to its safety, and without thought of the enemies it might provoke by its very bulk, if stranded in the ooze and mud of its sensual orgies. Predatory bands blockade all her ports; kindred hordes devastate her fairest provinces; while the whole Empire has long lain at the mercy of the first petty power which might deem it a fitting prey. Against internal parasites eating into its vitals, and external foes threatening its coasts, China has long been impotent, and the object of contempt to both. Russia has, within the last few years, by force or diplomacy, appropriated half the province of Manchouria—the ancient patrimony of the reigning dynasty—and with it the command of the river Amoor. If this other great Leviathan, the incarnation of the opposing principle of force, with war as its instrument, has not yet swallowed the whole Empire, it can only be that, great as are its capacities, there are limits imposed by nature to the powers of deglutition and digestion in the largest boa constrictor or predatory animal yet discovered. In the mean time, the danger is more immediate and menacing to Europe than to China, perhaps; for Russia has at Segalien, the mouth of the Amoor, and the adjoining coasts of the Western Continent, laid the foundation for a position as menacing to European commerce as any now existing at the opposite extremity in the Baltic. Stretching with giant arms across the whole breadth of Northern Asia and Europe, from fastnesses at each end, Asiatic hordes, directed by Western genius and science, are held in leash, ready to let slip over the fair and fertile South of both continents: the wealthiest regions of both Europe and Asia are at once threatened by this modern Colossus, instinct only, like another Frankenstein, with aggressive and destructive powers. China, India, and the kingdoms of Southern Europe, form but the three different stages of invading progress. Long before the whole of such a gigantic scheme of rule and conquest can have its accomplishment in China—the most helpless, as well as the richest, of all the victims—Russia will be enabled to reap the first-fruits, and take *instalments* of the larger and more distant spoil, by controlling the trade of Northern China, and the rich European trade so recently developed in its seas.

*Peace principles may lead to conquest.*

These may seem very visionary schemes to many of our readers. We may be thought to be lending to the autocrats, past and future, of "all the Russia" ambitious designs of a perfectly fabulous character ; yet such designs have been in other times so many realities. Attila, Chengiz Khan, Tamerlane, in succession, swept like mighty waves, with resistless violence, over river, and mountain, and desert, from one extremity of Asia to the other ; seated a great Mogul in the empire of India, and struck terror into the heart of Christian Europe, only to be turned finally back in the fertile fields of France. These are not yet so entirely lost in the mists of tradition as to justify such perfect incredulity. The invention of gunpowder and printing, it is contended, has rendered the renewal of such attempts an impossibility. We do not believe it ; nor are we certain that these will materially tend to make the realisation an impossibility. In the mean time one important lesson at least is to be derived from that *which is* in China, and the certain danger which at this moment has already leagued five nations in arms against the one,—that all political theorists on the possibility of establishing a system of universal equity and peace among nations, upon a *basis of non-resistance and unity of purpose*, must needs have failed in taking note of all the factors of the problem they have undertaken to solve for the benefit of mankind ; and it must needs be that some portentous and fatal error has crept into their calculations, when results so antagonistic are produced upon the largest stage the world can afford, with their principles in full operation for so many generations. But in truth, there are few dangers greater in common life—and the same experience holds good with nations—than the application of a principle, or a text, to conditions of life or matter to which they are inappropriate, however excellent each may be in the abstract. The mistake invariably brings as its penalty, by the operation of universal laws which govern alike the physical and the moral world, in tenfold magnitude, some, if not all, of the evils which such ill-directed efforts were especially meant to forestall. As we see here that the effort to evangelise a nation in disregard of international treaties has led to a determined hostility fatal to all progress, and the attempt to maintain a people exclusively devoted to the arts of peace, and ignorant and incapable of the means of resisting aggression, has given them over a prey to every kind of violence and spoliation ; war, in its worst form, and the more thorough prevalence of pagan principles, are the logical consequences of this double error.

The balance of power—the legal fiction that governs Europe—is but the disguise under which the several States seek to find a protection against the will of the strongest, and by a union of many to break the force of such efforts as, they know full well by past experience, will inevitably be made in the lust of conquest to appropriate adjoining territories, whenever the neighbouring power deems the circumstances opportune. All the Congresses of Europe, from that of Westphalia to Vienna, and still later, have had no other result than to patch up a hollow truce among the great Western Powers, based upon the shifting sands of political expediency, and consecrating to the use of all Governments the vicious principle of *spoliation and the right of the stronger*. Before we can hope, therefore, to make any progress in applying a great principle of moral justice and international policy, and the establishment on a solid and durable basis of an universal peace, all Governments who have the means of disturbing such peace must recognise in good faith such principle. How far we are from this state of things the present condition of Europe sufficiently testifies; and the Utopian, mischievous, and impracticable character of the Peace Societies' efforts consists in this one fact, that they ignore not only the total and absolute absence of *the first and most essential condition*,—the universal substitution of a principle of justice for the law of force,—but the impossibility of devising, or otherwise applying, any existing machinery for bringing into unity of design and purpose all the great powers. To advocate the exclusive cultivation of the arts of peace in any one nation, until that machinery is found and brought into full play, is simply to mark it out for subjugation and destruction. Non-resistance in such circumstances carries with it slavery and the loss of all semblance of national independence, as a necessary and legitimate consequence. So, even in reference to the internal policy of a State, all order and government—all *law*—rests ultimately upon *force*, however in well-constituted States it may be kept out of sight: there must be a power of *coercing* all disturbers of the peace; and when that is not, anarchy, social disorganisation, and the license of brute force, with a lapse into barbarism of a whole nation, are, sooner or later, the only results which legitimately follow from the premises.

In our dealings with Eastern peoples the Western races habitually fall into another grave error, born of a very shallow conceit and a still more contemptible philosophy, by which they conclude that whatever is good or acceptable in one condition of things, or applied to one race or state of national advancement, will be

equally good and applicable to every other: we would Europeanise everything.

In connection with this subject we have pleasure in calling attention to the very able Pamphlet at the head of this article by the present Chinese Secretary, Mr. Wade, entitled "Notes on the Chinese Empire in 1849," for some very sound and well-reasoned views on the relative policy of China and foreign States; as also to a series of Papers by the same gentleman, which first appeared in the "Chinese Repository of 1851," on the "Army of the Chinese Empire." The labour and patience displayed in these last, when the uninteresting nature of the details and the pile of volumes in which they are scattered is considered, must be deemed worthy of the highest praise, and worthily sustain the high reputation which the interpreters of Her Majesty's service in China have shown themselves zealous of maintaining. The origin and object of these papers is explained by the writer in the opening paragraph:—

"It will naturally occur to the reader of an article on the Army of China—-notoriously inefficient as is that portion of it which really has an existence, while it is frankly admitted by the statesmen of the Empire, that its actual strength is far below the numbers returned by its officers,—that much time has been wasted in collecting details spread very unsystematically through a hundred or more volumes; but the inquiry into its extent and constitution has been only supplementary to one into the general expenditure of the Empire, of which the support of the army forms no inconsiderable item; and the fact that, however ineffective the force, or false the returns of its ranks, the Imperial treasury pays amply for all that are borne on its books, has induced an examination of such writings as throw most light upon the cost of its maintenance, and the order of its distribution."

From Mr. Wade's admirable digest of the 100 volumes, we not only gain some statistical data as to numbers in an authentic form, but learn the causes of the total inefficiency of what appears to be an army no way disproportioned to the vast extent of territory. When both the "Bannermen," who may be said to be the force of the usurping families, composed of Manchus and Mongol Tartars chiefly, and the troops of the "Green Standard," almost entirely Chinese, are taken into account, they number over 660,000 men! With this prodigious army on paper, we learn from Mr. Wade how it is that the Emperor of China can neither put down a band of insurgents, and vindicate the law when outraged, nor collect a force that could contest a field with a handful of the disciplined troops of England or France. Some 325,000—the whole of the Chinese contingent, at best but a species of militia—are rather to be considered in the light of a vast constabulary than of a fighting

army,—employed in detecting or preventing robbery and contrabandism, in escorting stores, the collection of revenue, and the postal establishment, the transmission of grain, &c. They are at best a trained police, and very ill-trained to boot, and worse paid, although for the whole number borne on the Muster rolls of both armies, 30,000,000 of taels of silver—say £10,000,000—appear to be drawn from the exchequer of the Empire annually. How defenceless the Empire is left with a nominal army, and no military virtue or true soldiers in the ranks, was very forcibly pointed by the members of the ministry existing in 1851, when these papers from which we quote were given to the public; and this at a period in its history when, as Mr. Wade justly remarks, “agitated by sedition within her boundaries, and a new though as yet undefined danger is threatening her ancient constitution in the external relations forced upon it—a change in form without precedent, and ominous of greater innovation.” Some eighty memorials were presented to the young Emperor for counsel and information, on his requisition, a month after his accession to the throne. The following may serve as a specimen of the whole, and of the total want of all military organisation:—

“Hwáng Chanlin, censor for Kiángnan, complains that the ranks are not kept full: names are returned and the pay drawn of non-existent soldiers: drill is utterly neglected. Those who are in the ranks are employed in menial service by their officers, who flech their pay, and produce discontent and complaint on the part of the soldier, who is in constant collision with robbers.”

Another complains that they are cowardly, and unacquainted with the use of any known weapon, for he enumerates cannon, musket, sword, and spear; another that “the ranks are half empty, half filled with vagabonds, of whom the weaker are incompetent and the stronger in league with robbers and smugglers: who desert before an enemy, or never wait to come in front of one.” In vain, with such materials, are elaborate ordinances and “mutiny acts” promulgated; in vain among the eleven capital offences for which death is the penalty without reprieve, those are denounced who do not in the hour of battle “advance when the drum is beat,” and supplementary sections impress upon the soldier “the great advantage of fighting over running away.” He is not in a condition to appreciate the advantage: on the contrary, to him the rule of Hudibras is the only true philosophy. There is no Chinese soldier who has it not already as a principle—

“That he who fights and runs away,  
May live to fight another day;”



and who does not believe that, under existing circumstances, this is the only course open to a rational man, who either has a family to look after, or attaches any personal value to life and limb. With no discipline, military organisation, or *esprit de corps*—with no ambulances, hospitals, or provisions for their maintenance when crippled—with no patriotism to induce him to overlook such deficiencies—the wonder would be if Chinese soldiers could be induced to fight ! We think it no discredit to their valour that they do not. On the contrary, notwithstanding all that has been done for so many generations to discredit military virtue, and discourage anything warlike in spirit or organisation,—the more easily to keep a vast population in subjection to a foreign race which does not number units for their hundreds,—we believe the Chinese are not wanting in some of the best qualities of a soldier. Patient of toil, temperate and hardy, and vigorous under a tropic sun, with a *physique* in which great suppleness is combined with strength, we are persuaded they supply all the materials for a fine army, and one which, under a different spirit, with efficient organisation and good officers, might be made formidable to any European force that could be brought against it. The officers, indeed, would form the main difficulty, not the men. In these insurrectionary wars they have always been the most backward, and the first to run away, utterly deficient alike in knowledge of the art of war and the courage required to lead men in the field; while the men on both sides have occasionally shown great personal bravery.

But in the mean time they have arrived at the desired pitch of perfection, according to the Bright-and-Cobden theory : they neither can overawe the people nor attack or repel a foreign enemy. China is thus in the state the peace theorists would have Great Britain, as the initiative to a millenium,—with a large constabulary and no effective army. Let us pause for a moment, and see what are some of the natural fruits and the kind of *national life* to be enjoyed under this anti-military régime, in a people disclaiming all knowledge of military science, and regarding all the arts of war as rude and barbarous expedients, trusting to secure the blessings of peace by the doctrine of forbearance and unlimited submission.

In a former article some attempt was made to bring under notice the more striking political changes taking place at the present day in the heart of the Chinese Empire, and menacing not only the stability of the existing Government and Dynasty, but a total disruption of social and political bonds, and the consequent inter-

ruption of all foreign relations, from a state of anarchy, compared to which the worst government yet conceived by tyrants would be a blessing. In a thickly-peopled country like China, where numbers are ever pressing on the limits of the means of existence, and so little regard for human suffering, or respect for life exists; with tribes in the mountain regions still in a state akin to barbarism; an eastern race corrupt and supple, in some respects resembling the Byzantine Greek of the Lower Empire; all—from the juggler and itinerant tinker to the Imperial Viceroy—abject with the strong, and rampant to the weak, and with no small leaven of ferocity latent in their nature,—they who know revolutions only in Europe can form but a weak conception of the wide-sweeping devastation, or the amount of human suffering and bloodshed which attend such insurrectionary movements as have desolated this great Empire now more than three years. Since the month of February last, the Chinese New Year, it is reported on the authority of an official whose business it is to check and tally the number of prisoners passing through the only gate to the execution ground at *Canton alone*, that more than 70,000 victims have been sent to their last account by the sword of the executioner; many hacked to pieces, and “killed by inches,” as the official sentence runs. Incredible as this wholesale butchery may seem, we have reason to believe it only too true. For many weeks, from two to three hundred daily were led to execution. Let the imagination follow the track of the insurgent columns and imperial troops marching and countermarching through the whole length of this flourishing country, entering populous cities with their hundred thousand or quarter of a million of peaceable inhabitants, and leaving them, after a reign of disorder and exaction, a blackened mass of ruins—desolation everywhere, property destroyed, and life-blood shed like water. At Nankin it was the boast of the rebels that 20,000 men, women, and children fell under their sword the day they entered! At Shanghai, after eighteen months of dire misrule by horse-boys, coolies, and pirates, a city of 180,000 inoffensive and industrious people (too inoffensive and effeminate, unhappily, to defend their own), few were the inhabitants left, to grope among the smouldering rubbish for the stones which marked where their houses once had been! Many, fortunately, in the first days had fled; but of the remainder, large numbers were tortured, to wring money from them, until they died. Many were killed outright, or swept off by starvation or disease. The small remnant who had survived such trials

were simply beggared; while thousands were scattered over the country, with neither home nor family left on earth. And for what end was all this misery risked in the first instance, and deliberately inflicted during so long a period, and by whom? The American Commissioner, we believe, well and accurately describes them. He was on the spot, saw with his own eyes, and entered the city while the murdered magistrate was still on the ground where he fell. In his Despatch to the United States Government, Mr. Marshall writes—

“The insurgent force within the walls numbers about 4,000 men, who are pirates, robbers, boatmen, coolies, horse-boys, *servants who have been in foreign employment*, Chinese from Singapore, and natives who have been forced to join,—from first to last a most miserable crew of desperate men, without education, morals, and, what is worse, without ideas of government, or a purpose in the continuance of this insurrectionary movement, beyond the hope that they will succeed in being admitted into the fraternity of the rebels at Nanking. To this date this Chief has had no communication, or correspondence, or understanding with the Rebel Chief at Nanking; and it was incorrect that there was any pivity between them at the date of the insurrectionary movement here on the 7th of September.”

Thus the set of principles, religious and political, which for so many centuries have formed the basis of Chinese administration, have effectually disarmed and incapacitated the swarming millions of the Empire for self-defence, whether the enemy be native or foreign, and still in *theory* discountenance a resort to *force*. Submission is thus another word for suicide,—for the deliberate sacrifice of national and individual life, after a preliminary prostitution to the lusts of the strong and the evil. It first leads to degradation and defilement, and then to death; providing in the course a saturnalia of robbers and pirates—of murder and spoliation. Do we overstate the case in this *reductio ad absurdum*, in showing that the doctrines, the principles, and the policy so indiscriminately advocated by a small party of politicians in Europe, who hold “peace conferences” while rival States are bristling with bayonets, and call upon those who offer the richest prizes to the cupidity or ruthless violence of unprincipled neighbours to *disarm* as the most effective means of inducing them to *abstain from aggression*—that such vagaries lead to the extinction of national life, trampled out under the feet of those who hold other principles, and who have acted upon them in time past, and will be ever ready to act upon them again? To what end is life given to nations and to individuals? Is it not that by and through such life the best capacities of both may be freely developed, and that by

progressive advances towards the ideal perfection of each, every successive generation may prepare the way for a higher and better life in its successors? Neither national nor individual life can pretend to any worth *save in the degree in which this end of their being is worthily, heartily, and courageously fulfilled*; and how shall this be best effected? By weakly succumbing to evil; by surrendering all the conditions of individual development, liberty of conscience, freedom to do and to be all that our nature permits, and the laws of our being require, in order that the best that is in us may be developed? Or, shall we best attain the ends of our being by bowing our necks to the conqueror, yielding all that is truly precious—the sanctities of home, the inviolability of our hearths, the purity of our women, the security of life and property—to the first strong hand that claims their surrender? Does any sane man *believe this was the design of the Gospel*, or that this would be a divinely-sanctioned application of the texts of non-resistance so often quoted? If even life, national or individual, could be saved at the price of such sacrifices, instead of its insecurity or loss being the first penalty, is life the thing most to be regarded? Are not the ends for which life *lives* far more precious in God's sight than life itself, which is but the agent and instrument of that which lies beyond, and is infinitely better and higher? But while wicked and strong men exist, there must be good men and true men, strong of hand and bold of heart, to resist their wickedness at the peril of their lives, and with the same strong arm of flesh by which the former seek to perpetrate their iniquity at the expense of all that is worth preserving, that is good, or pure, or wise, or great on the earth. To do otherwise, is to surrender the world to the undivided dominion of the former. As regards the latter, it is an act of suicide, and, as such, stands self-condemned. Man is not at liberty to permit an assassin to take his life—which is a trust from God—if he has the means of resistance in his hand; self-defence, then, is a first duty, which the rough common sense and instinct of nations, save in times of great corruption or perversion, has in all ages recognised by a common instinct, and which the individual conscience of every human being, unless similarly perverted, has in all ages confirmed. But if resistance to the death is lawful and imperative in *self-defence*, shall it not be so for those objects which are more valuable and sacred than life? If lawful for the lesser, is it forbidden for the greater? And if lawful in defence of the individual life, is it not equally sanctioned and imperative for the *protection of national existence*? War, then, is a

necessity—a “necessary evil,” if men so please, but the protector of life and bestower of national blessings, and a duty as long as there are nations and men who are governed by evil desires. And if war, then military virtues may justly take rank among all those which ennoble mankind and help to guard him from self-abasement. War, indeed, brings its own evils, and provides an aliment for many passions better starved into subjection, but it also, as many good men—many of the wisest and best this world has seen—have thought, elicits some of the very highest of which our nature is susceptible,—self-devotion, contempt of death, heroic sacrifice, the spirit of obedience, love of country,—for man loves that best, and only that truly, for which he is at all times ready to make the greatest sacrifices ; and by all these feelings war becomes also a national benefit, exercising a noble and a salutary influence on the hearts and character of a people. We hold then, that one of the most preposterous of the many fallacies and errors which from time to time find their advocates, even among the better educated of a community, is that which would regard resistance to wrong and aggression as a crime, and teach nations to rely on the virtues of their neighbours, instead of their own strength and courage, to protect their existence and preserve its best privileges intact. And this lesson China seems especially destined to read to mankind, in characters of blood and crime, compared with which all the wars in Europe—if we take the life sacrificed as the measure—will appear small. Some two millions of lives—most of them peace-loving people *par excellence*, who may never have seen a sword until they fell by it—at the lowest computation, must have fallen a sacrifice these last three years. How many more are yet to be added to the fatal list, no man may say ; and who shall estimate the amount of human misery, degradation, and loss of property throughout the nation ? Well may Mr. Wade, who seems, nevertheless, much taken with the *ethics* of the Chinese policy, conclude that the Kwangsi rebellion has brought down on the heads of this devoted people, and their rulers, a punishment quite in proportion to the long supineness and error which is responsible for the present state of affairs. But not supineness alone,—not even mis-administration and corruption carried to extreme lengths: the wrong lies *deeper*, and is a radical vice, the long-accumulated effects and penalties of which seem now to be in process of liquidation. It has been said somewhere of Napoleon, that he seemed to illustrate the working of a law traceable in lesser men's lives, if attention were directed to it, by which the prevailing errors and tenden-

cies of a whole life gain in the progress of years a cumulative force, if circumstances gave them an outward expression or effect in the interval, which, however marked for a time by success, lead in the end to some terrible exemplification not only of their existence, but their true character and tendencies, in fullest development; and thus Napoleon, in his campaign of Moscow, concentrated into one focus the salient errors of his whole career and character. Something of this law of compensation and retribution appears in the existing causes through which the Chinese Empire is passing. Happily placed in all her geographical conditions,—a desert and an ocean protecting on either side her two most extreme borders,—and with no powerful nations in close propinquity (until Russia and Great Britain were so); self-sufficing by virtue of her climate and vast extent of territories, stretching through so many degrees of latitude; with a fertile soil, noble rivers; all that could make a nation great, or a country prosperous, seem to have been the inheritance allotted to it by Providence. But with nations as with individuals, it seems a necessary condition of improvement and advance in a right direction, that there should be a large admixture of adverse element in their destiny. Where these are not to be found in the external circumstances, latent evil germinates from within, and with far more insidious and dangerous tendencies. China, with all the blessings bestowed with so bountiful a hand by outward conditions of existence, has been only bent from her earliest history on turning them to selfish account; and not only to a selfish, but a material and sensual existence. Hence, notwithstanding the fine ethical and moral teachings of some of the earlier sages—of Confucius, Mencius, and a few others—and the very general reverence professed for their lessons, all their civilisation has taken a low utilitarian and materialistic form. Gifted with abundant energy, industry, and ingenuity, and a fecundity as remarkable in her people as in her soil, China has made no advance beyond a certain point of very mediocre elevation, and has long been conscious of an irresistible impulsion backwards,—a tendency to retrograde, despite the most strenuous efforts to arrest this relapse, and to *stand still*.—as though struck with a moral catalepsy in punishment for the restricted, selfish, and base use to which so many noble conditions of national existence had been put during a longer term than has been vouchsafed to empire or one national life before, since the world began. The Chinese now see themselves overtaken and far outstripped in the career of civilisation by nations who, two thousand years ago (when China had already for centuries

possessed such philosophers and statesmen as Confucius), either had no existence, or were painted savages—ourselves among the number,—and advanced mainly and in such rapid strides within the last three or four centuries, only by means of three inventions, known and possessed by them a whole decade of centuries before,—printing, the compass, and gunpowder. By these magic powers, modern nations have put a girdle round the earth, and everywhere claim dominion over it. In Chinese hands they were the buried talent; and the moral of the parable seems only too applicable, and to foreshadow an evil destiny to those who for such unmeasured time could make no better use than to keep it wrapped up in the napkin woven of their self-sufficiency and contempt, profitless for all the higher ends of national existence. And springing from these same sources was the *essence and spirit of their national code of politics and social ethics*. Mr. Wade remarks:—

“The pursuits of gain and literature are those which have the greatest tendency to corrupt or repress the martial energy of a nation: in China the two latter may be said to rule and decide the temper of her people; and her literature has especially opposed itself to the existence of a warlike spirit. I assume the unfitness of a modern Chinese for war to be a quality of long standing, due, in part, to the long inexperience of hostilities entailed by his position in his country, which has habituated his physical nature to *pursuits and desires incompatible with war*, and in part to the spirit of a code of morality, the study of which is much identified with one of his fondest pursuits, and which is otherwise so valuable as to be considered his highest authority upon all points of government, personal, domestic, or political. I have above considered his unfitness for war as a quality that I have not chosen to term a *defect*; but, believing as we do in the near alliance of truth and courage, it is impossible not to feel misgivings touching the connection between cowardice and mendacity in the character of a Chinese, or to help wishing that the blessings of peace and the doctrine of forbearance had left it somewhat more of an energy which is now becoming more necessary to his independence.”

We only differ from Mr. Wade on one point, but a very essential one, for we do consider it a *defect*, and one of so vital a character that we believe not only the individual and national cowardice and mendacity of the Chinese is to be traced mainly to this source, but to this *defect, and the principle from which it springs*—necessarily inculcated by their teachers—may also rightly be attributed as one of the chief causes of the low character of their civilisation, and the retrograding tendencies of the whole nation, as well as the terrible penalties they are now suffering,—the manifest consequence of the want of *military virtues* and capacity everywhere evidenced, in rulers and in people alike. We cannot

refrain from quoting a passage—and with this we shall take leave of the subject—bearing out these views in all their breadth as regards the general principle, from the work of one who can scarcely be supposed, as a divine and one of the most earnest of the day, to be an advocate for war in the abstract. We quote from Professor Maurice, in his “Kingdom of Christ” :—

“ If we attach any sacredness to the Jewish history, as containing the divine specimen of a national life, we cannot refuse to believe that other nations of antiquity were justified in their deep inward convictions that God has not given swords to men in vain, but that there are occasions on which the magistrate is bound by his allegiance to God to cut off the offender against the majesty of the law,—in which the ruler of the land must invite and command his subjects to chastise the removers of landmarks, the corrupters of the earth, and the oppressors of mankind. I would carry this principle a step further, and maintain that every soldier of really brave and gentle heart has been led to reflect on the preciousness of national life, and the duty of upholding it even at the cost of individual life, awful as that is, and has been taught to dedicate his energies to the preservation of this higher life, not by an evil spirit, but by that same Spirit of truth and love who, when He would lay the foundation of his new kingdom on earth, chose for the first subject and witness of it a centurion of the Italian band. There is much in the worst feelings of men, especially in our day, which sympathises with the Quaker-language respecting war and punishments. There is a cowardly shrinking from mere physical suffering, a great disposition to talk about the expensiveness of national honour—because money is a visible, honour an invisible thing ; there is an unreasonable, uncharitable, and superstitious notion that a soldier, as far as his profession is concerned, is of this world, and that a man who dies on the field of battle is necessarily less prepared for his change than a man who dies in his bed. All these feelings, which have sadly tended to degrade and impoverish the mind of modern Europe, to cultivate the Trade temper, to make armies what they are told they must be, and therefore to make them dangerous by depriving them of any high restraining principle, have been greatly encouraged by the tone which religious men of our day have adopted from Quakers :—*Whoever translates the holy name Peace by carnal security or luxurious ease, desecrates it and makes every Scriptural application of it unmeaning.* Whoever teaches civilians to love their self above all things, or military men to believe that they have no vocation but a murderous one, helps to make the one so weak that they must be ready to quail before any physical force, the other so wicked that they must be ready to exert it. And the loss of all national spirit will lead, as it has ever done, not to a golden age of Christian fraternisation, but to a military despotism.”

So have the Chinese been taught since the days of Confucius, and so have they suffered, as the more immediate consequence, by a foreign yoke of military despotism ; and lastly, to the national character resulting are they now indebted for a state of anarchy and wild confusion which threatens their existence, such as it is—



low-minded, utilitarian, and sensual,—with extinction ; or a long series of sacrifices fatal not only to their dearly-loved material well-being and worldly possessions, but to the condition of life under which this may again be won when once lost ! Because they were sedulously taught, and had but too well learned their lesson, to prize them *above all other and higher ends of national or individual existence*, and to seek their preservation by the lowest and least costly means, they find themselves launched on a stormy and troubled sea, without sail or rudder, on which it will be well for them if they escape without making total wreck of all their hard-earned wealth and dearly-purchased good.

With these leading conditions of the Chinese Empire and the present phase of its history, our readers will be enabled to follow us more readily in the rapid glance we must now take of the relative positions occupied by the various Western States which maintain political relations with China ; when it will, we think, be abundantly clear that to these same causes, so disastrous to the Chinese as a nation and their own development of peace, *we also owe the most insuperable of the obstacles which prevent the improvement of those relations, or the extension of our commerce for the reciprocal benefit of all* ; a deep consciousness of national weakness, as we have said, dictating the engrossing fear of innovations and aggression, which is really the key to all their foreign policy, and the explanation of the whole system of restrictions and exclusion,—shutting us out from Peking and the interior of China, where alone the great marts of native trade are to be found, as well as the tea and silk-producing districts, in which Great Britain has so large an interest. It will also become clear that the want of unity in objects among the Western treaty powers, is a second cause, due to ourselves ; while the attainment of the commercial facilities so desirable are placed still further out of our reach.

There are five Western Powers who, either by treaty or political connection (as the Portuguese at Macao), have *continuous and permanent political relations with China* !—First, Russia on its northern border, hanging like an avalanche over the fertile valleys of this enervated land, with a large and mutually profitable inland trade, and still larger territorial interests and pretensions. Next, Great Britain, the United States, and France, the three maritime Powers having recent treaties of commerce and amity (all cast in the same mould), under which the existing state of foreign relations has been established ; the first two only with large commercial

interests, but all three more or less identified with *religious propaganda in China*. Portugal has a certain territorial connection, by the small town and settlement of Macao, as England has at Hongkong, and, in addition, a small coasting traffic. The other countries—Spain, Holland, Denmark, the German States, &c.—like laggard horses in a race, are “nowhere”: one and all are clubbed together in the Chinese mind as having nothing either destructive or important in connection with China: a few ships in the year appear at the ports, chiefly employed in the British or American trade. Great Britain—by her colony at Hongkong, but still more her Indian territories closely approaching the southern borders of the Celestial Empire, the constant presence of an armed force, and a squadron in the Chinese seas, and the magnitude of her commercial transactions, as well as by the prestige of her war—probably occupies the first rank in the Chinese estimate of the relative importance of Western Powers; although, in truth, Russia is the more dangerous and menacing Power, more especially since it has occupied the left bank of the Amoor, carrying its boundary line through the heart of Manchouria, and taken up a fortified position at its mouth. In the value and importance of her trade at Kiaichta on the Tartar border, also, it is scarcely second. Third in rank, we believe, is France, notwithstanding the almost total absence of commercial or material interests; but she owes her precedence in this category over the United States to a cause which the latter need not envy,—her negotiations and interventions on behalf of the Roman Catholic faith and its Chinese converts, and the sanction and support she has steadily extended, since the treaty, to all the Romanist missions throughout China, often intervening by her agents, with doubtful judgment and effect, in behalf of Chinese subjects (though these may be at the furthest border of the Empire), on the report of their missionaries of any persecution, or legal injustice even, received by their flocks or individual converts *at the hands* of the native authorities; still oftener in the manifestation of a protecting care over the foreign missions *domiciled in the interior* in direct violation of all the treaties. It may easily be imagined with what unfriendly eyes these efforts are regarded at Peking, and by all the provincial authorities, and what smouldering fires of unredressed grievance and sense of wrong the part which France plays in this *duel sound* must keep burning. The United States of America, with minor commercial interests than either Great Britain or Russia, far removed from any territorial propinquity, with no rankling recollections of war and de-

feat to disturb the Chinese mind, and taking no very prominent part in the action of their missionaries, who are pretty well confined to the five ports, is in many respects more happily situated than any of the other Western Powers; and to do them justice, they seek to profit by it to the utmost, by establishing a sort of antagonism in their position to Great Britain, in which the enervating and aggressive character of the "old country," compared with the *peaceable and purely commercial objects* of the cousin, are perhaps a little exaggerated, or, at all events, forcibly coloured and brought out in relief, when occasion offers. And, although they do not abstain from the trade in opium, and find it convenient to lay down their funds in it as well as their neighbours, yet they do not grow it: their Government does not draw a revenue from its cultivation, and they cannot be charged with having a vested interest in the extension of a traffic ever looked upon with a sinister eye in China; all considerable advantages, no doubt, in their favor, of which they are not—and it would be, perhaps, too much to expect they should be—altogether unforgetful. On the other hand, they console themselves also for the absence of a predominant influence when Russia, Great Britain, and France are in the field, by a good deal of loud talking, and a little—just a little—blustering perhaps, when they have any immediate object to gain, which they throw in as a sort of make-weight, and not always perhaps without effect in their intercourse with Chinese authorities, who look upon us all as so many barbarians whom it is always right to hate, but never safe to come in collision with, devoid as we are of rational principles or good manners, and with so little of that national good faith of which they hear so much by the mouths of public functionaries. These are habitually instructed to demand the scrupulous fulfilment of treaty-engagements, however little these same engagements may be regarded by foreign subjects, for whose conduct foreign treaty powers have, nevertheless, made themselves responsible. The Portuguese are chiefly troublesome as a sort of thorn in their sides, either bearding them from their crow's nest at Macao in their own territory, or giving rise to piracy and violence committed by the Portuguese Lorchas on the coast, which would be a greater grievance in a better governed country, where native piracy was the exception instead of the rule. Of the quintet of troublesome and undesired allies which we have thus passed in review, there might be some difficulty in determining with precision their exact order of precedence. We are not sure whether

France, especially since the breaking out of the insurrection, with its proclaimed pretensions to Christian baptism, may not have the best claim to the unenviable distinction of being the most obnoxious of the whole party to the Chinese rulers. We dare say the United States, as presenting fewer grounds of quarrel or suspicion, may stand the best; but ill-favored suitors for the alliance or affections of China are they all in her eyes; and if it rested with her, they would not long darken her doors with their presence!—of that we feel very sure; and that the sacrifice of the trade and the revenue, both put together, would be deemed money well and cheaply bestowed, nor cause a moment's hesitation.

From this hasty sketch it must be already evident that the only two treaty powers who have any large *maritime* trade with China, and commercial interests to promote—Great Britain and the United States of America—have really *no political objects* to advance in that country, and maintain political relations with its Government only and exclusively *for the advance and protection of trade*. Could the Chinese be thoroughly persuaded of this, we believe a great step would be made towards reconciling them with an intercourse they have learned to accept as a necessity, but still regard as one ever pregnant with danger. The first step, however, in this direction would require, unquestionably, the adoption of a clear and unequivocal line of policy as *to the intrusion of missionaries into the country*, very different from that which has hitherto been followed. *The opium trade* forms the second stumbling-block in the way of commercial progress or improvement, so far as these are dependent on the good will of the Chinese Government. Finally, the regulation of the custom-house administration at all the ports, by which equality and certainty in the levy of tariff duties should be secured, is also essential. Whether— if even all these important conditions could be compassed—the last crowning work could be carried, and a free way opened giving access to the interior—to the tea and silk districts, and the great trunk lines of an inland commerce which far surpass in magnitude and extent that of all Europe,—is a problem the solution of which presents too many difficulties to admit of sanguine hope. Nothing is more certain than that neither Great Britain nor the United States have *any political interests in China*, except such as grow out of their commerce. Annexation or territorial acquisition cannot be desired by either, since it would not be more false in principle than fatal to the commerce it might be meant to advance.

We can scarcely blame the Chinese Government, however, if they cling obstinately to a contrary conviction, since we find the American Commissioner, Mr. Humphrey Marshall, capable of gravely warning his Government of the danger of Great Britain seizing Shanghai, and thus "obtaining the command of the rich valley of the Yang-tze-kiang"! When civilised statesmen, or those who occupy that position in the service of their country, can seriously indite such stuff, and give it circulation, well may Chinese authorities be excused any prejudice; for it would be difficult to imagine their occupying themselves with a "mare's nest" of more palpable character, or an absurdity more manifestly devoid of rational foundation. Annexation must have had some very peculiar charms in Mr. Marshall's eye, when it blinded him to the suicidal nature of the policy it would involve to a nation seeking only *at the least cost to extend its commerce*. It is not with a lusty and troublesome progeny of fifty-four colonies, and an Indian Empire to boot, that Great Britain can desire any increase to her family, or to see her territorial responsibilities increased by new acquisitions.

Our readers, we trust, are now in a position to form some judgment of the action and reaction of the internal state and external relations of China; how insurrectionary movements from within, and foreign sympathisers from without, may combine to exercise a most sinister influence on all progress or improvement in the latter; how facilities for trade, and the propagation of Christian doctrines, in the existing state of China, may be antagonistic and incompatible; and how the *manner of conducting the efforts to promote both* may constitute the most insuperable obstacles to progress in either direction. They may judge how, as regards trade more exclusively, two elements are mingled together,—the treaty-sanctioned trade under tariff, and the unrecognised, and therefore contraband, trade in opium; which two, if not mutually incompatible in a commercial point of view, may yet be *irreconcilably antagonistic* in a political sense to the prejudice of the former, and of all large measures for the improvement of trade by the removal of restrictions and grant of increased facilities. Under each of these heads, it will be seen, there are causes in operation of a twofold character,—the one adventitious, conditional, and susceptible of removal or modification; the other inherent in the nature of the thing objected to. Western Powers might put a stop to the present mode of propagating Christianity by the intrusion of missionaries into the interior; but nothing that

Governments can do could remove the objection of the Chinese to the thing itself, or *its introduction into the country*. To relieve them of their *fear* of it, as more or less an engine of revolution and change under covert protection, would, we believe, do more towards softening, and it might be in the end removing, their hostility than any other course that could be followed. As regards the second head—of *trade*—precisely the same observations apply. We might improve the mode in which it is conducted, and chiefly by extending the custom-house system, already established at Shanghai with excellent result, to all the other ports. The concurrence of the Chinese Government in a measure of this kind would unquestionably be for the mutual benefit of the Chinese revenue and foreign merchants, by the prevention of corruption and fraud, the removal of all inequality in the levy of duties, and all occasion of scandal from the habitual violation of treaty and trade regulations, no longer made inevitable by the temptation of a thoroughly inefficient and venal administration. But as regards the *opium*, the objection to the introduction of the drug itself is as invincible and as deeply-rooted in national feeling or prejudice—whichever it may be considered—as is the objection to Christianity in the minds of the governing classes. Many petty grievances and perpetual sources of irritation and antipathy may be removed—for they are, as we have said, altogether conditional and adventitious—but not the true body nor the subject matter of complaint and hostility.

In the mean time the insurrectionary movements continue with a sort of spasmodic vitality and periodicity,—too feeble to advance to any final issue, too readily finding elements of discontent and strength to be wholly put down; while the Government and its provincial administrations—corrupt and incapable in all their members—are impotent for good, and only manifest vigour when the work of decapitation is in hand. To sum up, we may observe that we see no ground whatever for the sanguine anticipation occasionally expressed, that a time is approaching when great and favourable changes in the intercourse of foreigners with the Chinese may take place. Still less do we agree with those who think that, by and through the insurrection, we shall gain access to the interior. On the contrary, as far as negotiation and all peaceable means are concerned, the last few years have only served to add new difficulties to those previously existing. Social antipathies, differences of national character—of habits and language—first play their part; then follow in support those arguments supplied

by the supposed prejudicial character of all foreign trade with Western States, as violating the fundamental principle of their political economy by the exchange of mere superfluities and luxuries from abroad against useful native articles of consumption ; one of these superfluities, moreover—opium,—tending in their opinion to drain the empire of its silver, and only circulating medium for large transactions, and to demoralise and ruin the people. Both moral and economic arguments are thus brought to bear against our commercial relations ; and both we believe to be powerful alike with rulers and people. But neither social antipathies, nor the arguments derived from economic or political considerations, form the most impassable barriers to progress. The distrust of the Western Powers, and, above all, the inauguration of extensive changes—which, as we have seen, are inseparably connected in the Chinese mind, and, in fact, with all religious and missionary movements—take the first rank. The fear of our military powers—the only superiority they really admit—and the deep consciousness of their own weakness, lie at the root of all opposition to overtures, however couched, for access into the interior and a less restricted intercourse. To deepen this complex feeling of fear and hostility into hatred,—to spread it widely, and make it the strongest in regard to foreigners,—nothing could have been devised by our worst enemies more effective than the outbreak of a vast insurrection *professing* to originate with Christian converts ; and to complete the untoward character of the whole, it only required that there should be foreigners at each of the five ports, ready to endorse this assumption of Christian affiliation, and loudly proclaim their sympathy with the insurgents by word and deed ; and, unfortunately, this also has not been wanting ! International law, national good faith, even the conditions of neutrality and the express provisions of treaties, were all trodden under foot in the insane desire which seized many of all classes “ to testify to the sacred rights of insurrection ” ! while from England and America came the wildest anticipations to cheer on such ill-advised demonstrations, until we think all the mischief it was well possible to effect under such an evil conjecture of circumstances, was thoroughly wrought out and consummated. At Shanghai some strenuous and not wholly ineffectual efforts were made by the French civil and naval authorities (by active hostilities on the part of the French Admiral), and by the British consul, to counteract by their actions this flood of evil influences ; but we

know not with what face any foreign Power in this generation can ask an Emperor of China to admit foreigners into the heart of the Empire; then to preach these same sacred rights of insurrection, and either mingle in the fray, or, for profit, supply those in arms against the Government of the country with all the munitions of war, and a moral and material support; and in the event of failure, to secure under the protection of foreign flags and the provisions of a violated treaty, the escape of the ringleaders and insurgent chiefs, after their work of destruction had been completed! We know not with what face we could go to Peking, were the road open to-morrow, to ask for an extension of privileges liable to such frightful abuses; but we can easily divine with what countenance, and in what spirit, they will be received, if it is to be a matter of diplomacy and negotiation!

We have little sympathy with the Chinese Government, or the existing ruling classes. They are about as bad as it is well possible an educated race could be. Their incompetence to deal with the great crisis which menaces their destruction, the universal corruption and inaptitude of all the officials, from the highest to the lowest, with a few very rare exceptions, and the consequent prevalence of every kind of oppression and mal-administration, are all too notorious to admit of doubt, or leave any room for sympathy, as far as *their fate* is concerned. But we confess to some alarm at the prospect of this Government, bad as it is, being subverted by such men as have hitherto headed the insurrectionary movements, whether on the coast or in the interior. No sign of thought or power to build up what they so ruthlessly pull down can be detected. *Tae-ping* has now held the second city in the Empire more than two years; has had command of the mouths of the grand canal and the Yang-tze-kiang, those great arteries on which its life and prosperity in no small degree depend; and not one effort has been made to organise even the semblance of a Civil Government. The triumph of such bands—for they are many and wholly disconnected—would really be, as we have intimated, a saturnalia of social anarchists, under whose reign of misrule China would suffer more in a single year than a century could repair, if indeed the people could ever again recover their present state of civilisation. If man may not do evil that good may come—in a world where the issues of all efforts are so uncertain that the wisest may not count upon them for a day—never was there a case in which the imperative obligation of such a rule could be less doubtful, or the necessity of adhering to eternal princi-



ples of right and wrong more obvious. Foreign States may not feel either warranted or called upon to take any part for the support of the existing order and reigning dynasty, although, where a nation has material interests at stake, it also has rights attached to them, one of which is to watch over their safety, anticipate dangers that threaten, and, if need be, enter into alliances with the constituted Government of a country in furtherance of and for the protection of these legitimate objects. It is clearly, therefore, a question of policy and expediency whether Western Powers may now or at any later period intervene in this intestine war. If such intervention could be shown to be at once practicable, and calculated to benefit the Chinese people as a nation, and the Western people having relations with them, we hold the demonstration that intervention would be practicable and advantageous in this sense—would suffice for its fullest justification. On the other hand, one would think it ought to be sufficiently plain, that while subsisting treaties are acknowledged, neither we nor any treaty power are at liberty to aid and abet the insurgents, or in any way, direct or indirect—whether under plea of neutrality or otherwise—to promote *insurrection*; and to impede the action of the Chinese Government in the free exercise of their sovereign power, to suppress the insurgents.

While the course would be wisely done for the protection of large national interests—interests of trade, present and progressive,—the problem of a better government and a higher order of civilisation, in a country where we have interests both of trade and revenue of great magnitude at stake, is indeed matter for grave consideration. It is, however, much too large and important a subject to be entered upon at the close of an article which has already far exceeded the prescribed limits. In the future progress of events, it is impossible to say what circumstances may arise to make the conditional intervention, whether general or local, more or less consistent with sound policy, and even imperative on the part of one or several of the treaty powers. The objections to such a course are so many and patent, that there is little danger of any resolution of this nature being rashly taken. Rather is it to be feared, according to all past experience in our relations with China, that if ever the fitting time should arrive when a decided policy, framed on a principle of intervention, ought to be adopted in the interest of both races, that it will either pass undetected, or be allowed to slip by without being made available. The *laissez faire*, always much in

favor with those in power and burdened with the cares of office, has the advantage of entailing less apparent responsibility,—less really, perhaps, as the world is constituted,—and demands alike less wisdom to anticipate a coming evil, and less courage to avert the catastrophe ; whereas he who undertakes to steer through a stormy sea and on an unsurveyed coast, if he encounter shipwreck, will rarely be allowed to plead the “act of God” in bar of condemnation. Nor can it be denied that there is often great wisdom in knowing when to be still—to watch, and not to act ; and if there also be occasionally a total absence of both wisdom and courage in such a passive state, all that can be said is, that for “inactivity” to be “masterly” it should be appropriate, and *the best thing to be done at the time*. That the wisdom which rightly discriminates, and the power to give effect to a far-sighted policy, may not be wanting to our own Government in the progress of the present eventful movements in China, is earnestly to be desired ; but for the specific action that should be taken, we think he would be a rash man who, in these shifting sands, would lay down a course by chart and compass for the future. Far be it from us at least to attempt such a task at the present moment ; but some shoals and rocks of dangerous character are right ahead, to be plainly seen by the naked eye, and by these we are warned that both tea and opium may be in no small jeopardy as articles either procurable or marketable in China ; and we would suggest, as a closing word of counsel, the policy of transferring, as far as possible, some of the Indian capital employed in the cultivation of the latter, to the tea plantations of Assam and the railroads leading through the cotton districts, as the course which best provides against the most serious of the dangers that hover on the horizon.

## ART. II.—THE MOON AND HER LIBELLERS.

1. *A Treatise concerning the Influence of the Sun and Moon upon Human Bodies, and the Diseases thereby produced.* By RICHARD MEAD, Fellow of the Royal Colleges of Physicians at London and Edinburgh, and of the Royal Society, and Physician to His Majesty. London: 1748.
2. *A Collection of Treatises on the Effects of Sol-Lunar Influence in Fevers; with an improved method of curing them.* By FRANCIS BALFOUR, M.D. London: 1816.
3. *Transactions of the Medical and Physical Society of Bombay,* 1843. American Mission Press, Bombay.
4. *The Museum of Science and Art.* Edited by Dr. LARDNER. London: Walton and Maberly, 1854.

OF the many striking results of modern civilisation and intellectual culture, not the least remarkable is the removal of popular delusions. Great and manifold have been the changes since the search for the *elixir vite* and philosophers' stone was viewed as a reasonable and profitable employment. We are now perplexed by discussions as to whether Noah's long life was due to the former, or "whether Moses was the first and greatest of alchymists." Neither are we called upon to compare the incredulous to "little children shut up in a narrow room, without windows or aperture, who, because they saw nothing beyond, denied the existence of the great globe itself." In these days of railways and electric telegraphs, Sir Kenelm Digby and his sympathetic powder would attract little notice; and a Valentine Greatrix might certify his wondrous cures by the imposition of hands, without thereby encroaching upon the privileges of our most gracious Sovereign.

We are not now bewildered and frightened out of propriety by predictions of "the near end of all things." We no longer hear of people flocking to the fields about Islington and Hampstead, to witness the destruction of London. Even comets may be seen, and earthquakes felt, without being viewed as the precursors of others by which the world is to be overthrown. Earthquake-sermons are not now popular, and earthquake-clothes are no

longer in demand. In these matter-of-fact days; Mother Shipton and her disciples would find few followers; and even the great Nostradamus himself, were he to appear, would stand a good chance of a bath in a horse-pond, or a seat in the stocks. Necromancy, geomancy, augury, divination, have all lost their charms; nor do we place much confidence in stereomancy, pyromancy, hydromancy, demonomancy, or in the many other *nuncies* which were esteemed in days of yore. Even the great science of Oneiro-criticism is held in little repute. It is now scarcely considered a sign of good fortune to dream of little pigs, or of some impending calamity to dream of bullocks. We may actually dream of losing a tooth without thereby losing a friend. A man's rest is not in these days destroyed by the shooting of a star; and we seldom see a man in love grow pale and lose his appetite upon the plucking of a merry-thought. Thirteen people will now eat their dinner in peace, unless, as suggested by Dr. Kitchener, there should happen only to be dinner enough for twelve. In these degenerate times we may meet a piebald horse, put on our stockings wrong side out, sneeze twice, be attended in our peripatetic excursions by a strange dog, or even be favored by the descent of a flight of bees into our garden, without thereupon incontinently inferring that some rich uncle or other *Dives* has left us a plum, or without seeing the woolsock or archiepiscopal throne ready to step into.

But, although amongst the lower classes of the people many delusions more or less founded upon superstition and ancient tradition have been exploded under the advancing steps of civilization, still the experience of the last few years serves to show that a tendency to credulity—of another kind, it is true—pervades, not the lower classes, but those in which education and enlightenment appear to have made the most progress. The credulity here referred to might perhaps be termed scientific, to distinguish it from that based upon ignorance and superstition, common amongst unenlightened classes and nations. Much surprise has been expressed that this should be so, and the *fact*, which has of late forced itself upon public attention, has been attributed to a defect in the present systems of education.

That at the present moment there should be a disposition to almost universal credence in matters of science, ought not to excite surprise, when we reflect upon the strides in the direction of the marvellous which scientific research has of late years taken. The discoveries and inventions of the last half-century, indeed,

afford abundant proof that scarcely anything should be viewed as untrue or impossible from its apparent improbability. The assertion of the possibility of transmitting from London to Paris, or from Bombay to Lahore, "the outward symbols of thought, with almost the proverbial speed of inward thought itself," would have been deemed by our forefathers as absurd as we now view the predictions of the clairvoyant, or the inspiration of the spirit-rapper; and hardly perhaps more credible would have appeared to them the announcement that the time was approaching when dinner might be taken in London and breakfast in Edinburgh—printing effected by steam—paper manufactured by the mile. With probably not less astonishment and unbelief would they have heard the revelations which have been and are still being made in many of the natural sciences. Would they, for example, have *believed* that those "cloud-like appearances in the firmament" are in fact clusters of stars,—worlds, and, for aught we know, inhabited by beings equal or superior in intelligence to ourselves? and if they had been told that by the aid of instruments we could examine bodies whose "distance is as inexpressible in language as it is inconceivable in thought," would they not have regarded such statements with as much incredulity as we should now view the possibility of an aerial voyage to Australia, or a trip to the moon? To them, indeed, the Megalosaurus, the Ichthyosaurus, the Pliosaurus, would have seemed mere fabulous creations—remnants of the dragons, and serpents, and giants of the days of King Arthur and his Round Table; and the truths—great, wondrous, and sublime—of modern science, the delusions of the ignorant, or the inventions of the arch-enemy himself.

It should not, therefore, we repeat, be a subject of surprise that that spirit of rational scepticism which was once the characteristic of educated men, has given place to almost universal credulity in matters of science. The first step in the ladder of enlightenment was necessarily, perhaps, calculated to excite feelings of suspicion and doubt as to the truth of any proposed innovation. It exhibited to view the errors and absurdities of opinions almost universally entertained for years and ages, and showed how dogmas and doctrines were received and acted upon without either examination or inquiry. The extraordinary scientific discoveries which followed in almost uninterrupted succession, could not fail to diminish, if not destroy, such feelings of caution and distrust. Preconceived improbabilities and impossibilities were converted into ascer-

tained realities ; and thus, perhaps as a necessary consequence, there has resulted a tendency towards the opposite extreme of indiscriminate belief. It may now, indeed, be almost considered an axiom, that nothing is *a priori* too improbable to be true—nothing apparently so opposed to the ordinary laws of nature as not to be found, by prolonged research, exactly in accordance with them.

But although, as we have said, a spirit of credulity in matter of science has to some extent taken the place of popular delusion, yet it must be confessed that there are still in existence many popular beliefs which have been handed down from one generation to another, without being subjected to anything like careful examination. We propose in this article to investigate the claims to credibility of an opinion which has been more or less prevalent in almost every country—in almost every age of the world's history,—and which has, to a certain extent, resisted the onslaughts of time and enlightenment ; our object being to ascertain whether such resistance be due to a solid foundation, or merely to the circumstance that the citadel has not been assailed.

We are quite sensible of the risks we incur in undertaking this scrutiny. To question the truth of "time-honored beliefs" is an ungracious task ; and we know well that the attempt is usually met by ridicule and invective. These are risks, however, which in the pursuit of truth we are willing to encounter, consoled by the reflection that in the prosecution of the journey we shall not be the first to whom the road has been made both painful and difficult.

"Are you feeling the springs?" is a question which must often, we think, have perplexed the new arrival in this country. Go where he will—to the mess, to the parade, to the club, to a ball, to the band, on the esplanade, to pay a morning visit,—on all sides, and in every direction, he hears something of the *springs* :—"I had fever at the springs."—"I expect fever next springs."—"I am always seedy at the springs."—"Dr. ——— tells me I shall be fortunate if I escape the springs." By such and similar remarks will his attention be arrested.

Now, it will naturally be asked, What are these terrible springs, about which so much is said ; these devastating agents which seem to spare neither the strong nor the weak, the old nor the young ; which have no compassion on the soldier or the civilian ; against which the charms of beauty are powerless, and at the mere mention of which the radiant hue of health "fades and flies away" ?

If he were directly to ask for information as to the import of the word, he would probably, so far as politeness would permit, be met by a stare of astonishment, as if "every one did not know what the springs were, and as if indeed every one had not felt their influence." After a little experience, he would probably find that the word "springs," used in the sense we have above stated, means this:—That in tropical climates all diseases more or less, and fevers in particular, are under the influence of the changes of the moon; that fevers are apt to recur at the new moon and full; and even if there should not be a distinct attack of fever at those times, various sensations are experienced quite sufficient to mark the period of their occurrence.

By any one in the habit of reflecting upon natural phenomena, this information could not fail to be received with astonishment. He would necessarily inquire, What is this extraordinary influence? How is it manifested? Does it owe its existence to any modification of the great forces of light, heat, and electricity? Are there meteorological disturbances, at these periods, by which the human frame is affected? Or are we to suppose that there is some new force, yet undiscovered, capable of exercising an unknown and mysterious influence upon the vital economy? And lastly, how is it that, notwithstanding the close investigation to which diseases of every description are submitted in European countries, the relation between them and the changes of the moon has not been discovered; or, rather, having been supposed to have been discovered, is now proved, beyond all possibility of doubt, not to exist?

In the midst of such reflections it would doubtless occur to him to seek for the proofs of this remarkable connection.

Turning to the books which contain the records of Indian diseases—what would be the result? Not only that he would there find *no satisfactory proof* whatever of such influence, but, on the contrary, that almost everything worthy of the name of proof therein recorded is opposed to the probability of its existence. He would, it is true, meet with numerous statements in its favour, strongly expressed, conveying the *impressions* of individual observers; but knowing the value of such evidence, he would attach little weight to it—the more so, as he would find that in the few instances where such impressions had been tested by the collection and arrangement of the cases upon which they were founded, they have invariably been proved to have been erroneous.\*

\* Many years ago a paper was written by a Mr. Orton, we think, ascribing

If such, then, be the state of the question as regards recorded evidence, upon what does the belief of the moon's influence in the diseases of tropical countries rest?

It is not perhaps easy to give a satisfactory answer to this question. That it is in some measure founded upon the generally-expressed opinions of medical men, there can be no doubt; but probably it is, in many instances, connected with what is termed "individual experience"—a term, by the way, often synonymous with error and delusion.

Before we enquire more particularly into the value of such evidence, it will be useful to take a glance at some of the opinions entertained upon this subject in the earlier ages of the world's history.

From perhaps the most remote periods, the phases of the moon have measured time; and on this account it has had an influence upon the religious practices of the most ancient nations. Its influence was, however, in the popular belief, soon extended. The degree in which children thrived was supposed to depend upon the phase of the moon in which they were born, and even their entrance upon this sublunary existence was connected with various mysterious planetary agencies. By the Greeks, "lucky days" were determined by the size of the moon; it was thought unlucky to march to war before the full moon, or to make a commander at any time but the new moon.

From a consideration of the close connection which subsisted in ancient times between the healing art and superstitious observances, it will be readily understood that planetary influence was soon acknowledged as exercising an active influence upon diseases and their remedies. The critical days of Hippocrates happening to comprise a lunar phase, could not fail to give additional weight to the belief, which was still further heightened by the energetic manner in which the subject was discussed by Galen.

In the earlier periods of the history of medicine, indeed, there is scarcely a disease named upon which lunar or sidereal agency

attacks of cholera to some change in the balance of the electricity of the atmosphere, which he believed occurred about the new and full moon. No sooner was this idea broached, than numbers of medical observers noticed the frequency of the attacks of cholera at the changes of the moon. So numerous, indeed, were these statements, that if they had been correct, there would have remained no doubt whatever as to the decided part which the moon plays as an exciting cause of this complaint. This subject was, however, elaborately investigated by the Madras Medical Board, when it appeared that so far from the attacks of cholera being most frequent at the principal lunar changes, they were absolutely least common at those periods.



is not operative; and not only were the symptoms of diseases believed to be influenced in this way, but the greatest weight was attached to the effect of the moon's rays upon the remedies employed in the cure of them.

That mysterious hieroglyphic (R) at the head of prescriptions, which most persons in their simplicity suppose to mean "Recipe," is, in fact, a relict of the astrological symbol of Jupiter, disguised, it is true, by the addition of a down-stroke.

The virtues of various remedial agents were ascribed, not so much to the properties of the plant from which they were derived as to the ascendancy of the planet or the period of the moon at which they were gathered. Thus the Druids of Gaul and Britain cut the mistletoe with a golden knife *only* when the moon was six days old; it was then deemed an antidote for poisons. Another remedy gathered at the rising of the "Dog Star," when neither the sun or moon shone, was potent in the cure of fevers, and an antidote to the bite of serpents. The good old practice, as it was called, of bleeding at spring and fall, (happily, like many other good old practices, now fallen into disrepute,) can be traced to a belief in the greater efficacy of phlebotomy at certain conjunctions of the planets. Our Saxon ancestors, indeed, entertained peculiarly strong opinions as to the importance of selecting certain days of the moon's age for abstracting the vital fluid. In Mr. Wright's "Biographia Literaria" it is stated, that one day John of Beverley entered the nunnery of Wetadun (supposed to be Wetton in Yorkshire), when the abbess called him to visit a sister in whom the operation of bleeding had been followed by dangerous symptoms. When he was informed that she had been bled on the fourth day of the moon, he blamed the abbess severely for her ignorance, "For," said he, "I remember that Archbishop Theodore, of blessed memory, said that bleeding was very dangerous at the time when both the light of the moon and the flood of the ocean was on the increase."

Throughout the middle ages, there was scarcely a plant in medical use that was not placed under the dominion of some planet. To enumerate all the diseases which have been supposed, as the result of observation and experience, to be affected by lunar or planetary influence, would occupy a volume. A few, however, may be mentioned.

The belief in the relation between the paroxysms of epileptics and lunatics is as old as Galen. Dr. Mead, writing in 1750, says—

"And, indeed, I myself remember when I was physician to St. Thomas's Hospital during the time of Queen Anne's wars with France, that several of the sailors of our fleets were brought thither, and put under my care for this (epilepsy) distemper, most of whom were new men who had contracted the disease by frights, either in sea engagements or in storms. But the moon's influence was so visible on the generality of them at the new and full, that I have often predicted the times of the fits with tolerable certainty."

Dr. Mead also relates the remarkable circumstance of a child who suffered an attack of convulsions so regularly at the time of the tides, that his father, who "lived by the Thames and did business on the river," was warned by his cries in the night of the state of the tide, and was thus enabled to rise at the proper time to his employment.

Hysterical and asthmatical complaints, palsy, and fevers, have all been ascribed to lunar agency; and many very curious relations are to be found of its effects in hemorrhages. Thus it is said, that—

"Dr. Pitcairn, in the year 1687, being at a country-seat near Edinburgh on a fairer day than usual at that season, and the sun looking reddish, he was seized at 9 in the morning—the very hour of the new moon—with a sudden bleeding at the nose, after an uncommon faintness, and the next day, on his return to town, he found that the barometer was lower at that very hour than either he or his friend Dr. Gregory, who kept the journal of the weather, had ever observed it; and that another friend of his, Mr. Cockburn, Professor of Philosophy, had died suddenly at the same hour, by an eruption of blood from the lungs; and also five or six others of his patients were seized with hemorrhages."

The philosopher Sanctorius—the inventor of the thermometer—believed that "men do increase a pound or two in their weight every month." Dr. Mead says—

"It is not, therefore, at all strange that we should once a month be liable to the returns of such distempers as depend upon a fullness of the vessels; that these should take place at those times especially when the ambient air is least able to repress the turgency; and that though new and full moon are both of equal force, yet that sometimes one, and sometimes the other only should influence the periods, according as this or that happens to fall in with the inward repletion."

Ramazzini, describing a fever which prevailed at Modena in the years 1692, 1693, and 1694, says—

"And it was worthy of observation, that the disease raged more violently after the full moon, and especially in the dark quarter, and abated upon the appearance of the new moon, as not only I, but other physicians here constantly observe; and this observation was of great service both in the prognostic and cure."

But, powerful for evil as the moon was at all times, she was especially so during an eclipse. The author above quoted says—

"What happened January 21st, 1693, was very surprising. For the moon having been eclipsed that night, the greatest part of the sick died about the hour of the eclipse; and some were even struck with sudden death."

Hear Dr. Mead also upon the subject of eclipses:—

"And it is still fresh in the memories of some, that in that memorable eclipse of the sun which happened April 22nd, 1715, and in which the total obscuration lasted here at London three minutes and twenty-three seconds, many sick people found themselves considerably worse during the time, which circumstance people wondered at, but I could easily account for. In the morning I went with Dr. Halley and other astronomers to the Observatory on the top of the Royal Society's House in Crane Court, in order to view the eclipse and consider the state of the weather, and changes that might probably happen in our atmosphere, and then the sun was very bright, and the sky remarkably serene. But when the eclipse became total, the air was so uncommonly cold and moist that it made us shiver; and the face of nature appeared so extremely gloomy and dismal, that the birds fluttered about in wild affright, and the cattle in the fields stood fixed as statues, through excess of astonishment. Whereas, no sooner had the sun begun to emerge, but every creature assumed so cheerful an aspect, that I never saw, nor do I ever expect to see, so pleasing a sight."

Were it necessary, many other equally marvellous accounts of the terrible effects of lunar agency on diseases might be related; but our limits will not permit of any further allusion to them. Any one who is curious upon the subject will do well to read Dr. Mead's work, the title of which we have placed at the head of this article.

General, nay, universal as was the belief in the potency of lunar and sidereal influence during the earlier and middle ages, yet such belief was not founded upon any attempt at rational explanation; it was rather one of those vague superstitions essentially connected with a state of intellectual darkness. So absurd, indeed, had been the extent of the influence ascribed to the planets, that even in those days of senseless credulity a suspicion was at length excited that some little exaggeration was mixed up with the subject. Accordingly, towards the close of the 16th century, opinions were divided, until in the end it came to be believed that the stars and our satellite only affected health by producing sensible changes in the weather.

At the beginning of the 18th century, however, Dr. Mead endeavoured to place the question upon a solid foundation, by connecting it with the Newtonian discovery of universal attraction. Stated in a few words, Dr. Mead's reasoning was this:—That as the waters of the earth are attracted at certain conjunctures of the sun and moon in such a manner as to occasion the tides, so

must the atmosphere be raised by similar attraction every time the moon comes to the meridian; that these attractions being greatest at the new and full moon, the surface of the earth and bodies resting upon it will at these periods be influenced to the greatest degree.

The subject was afterwards taken up by Dr. Darwin in his "Zoonomia," and was discussed by several other writers; but it did not appear to attract general attention. Towards the end of the 18th century, a very elaborate attempt was made by Dr. Baillie, in Bengal, to prove the existence of lunar influence upon fevers occurring in tropical countries. He published a number of treatises upon the subject, to which we shall have frequent occasion to refer.

We now proceed to enquire more particularly into the nature of the evidence upon which the belief in lunar influence, in this country so general amongst the European inhabitants, is based. As before observed, it is not an easy matter to state categorically what this evidence is. We shall not, however, be far from the mark if we say that it consists partly of the assertions of medical men, but chiefly of inferences drawn by people generally, from observation or individual experience. There is also, it may be noticed, a sort of vague impression that planetary influence of some kind or other has been an acknowledged fact almost from time immemorial, and that in any doctrine which has stood the test of time, there must be truth.

We are not disposed to question the soundness of such reasoning in the abstract; but there is surely room for discrimination. If a doctrine is promulgated for the investigation of which there are motives of individual self-interest, the period of its duration is no doubt, in some degree, a measure of its truth; but there are popular beliefs the acceptance of which does not directly affect individuals, and which no one, therefore, thinks it worth while to examine. There is, moreover, in most—probably in all—minds an indisposition to question the truth of opinions which have been handed down from preceding generations, and which have come to be viewed almost in the light of axioms. It is the remark of a modern writer\*—

"Often, too, it happens that a particular opinion has for a long time been conventionally adopted or acquiesced in—perhaps with little enquiry or thought among the many,—until on a sudden some writer, more bold or more ambitious than his predecessors, discovers a dubious point on which at

\* Baden Powell—*Unity of Worlds.*

least a plausible argument may be raised, calling in question the received belief in which the public mind has hitherto reposed."

We smile now at many delusions which formerly existed, and are amazed that they should have been entertained; and yet it must not be forgotten that those delusions were for years and centuries as firmly believed by all classes as are the truths of modern science. To have doubted, for example, the power of the Royal touch to cure the King's Evil, would by many even in the days of Queen Anne have been deemed as absurd as it would now be to question the truth of chemical affinity, or terrestrial attraction.

But, whilst we do not think much reliance should be placed upon mere antiquity of belief, we would by no means hastily pass over another fact, which is certainly very remarkable. It is this,—~~that~~ a belief in the moon's influence is prevalent amongst distant and unconnected nations. We do not pretend to explain this singular circumstance,\* but we may mention a few facts which will be sufficient to show that in some instances at least, where the inhabitants of remote countries have held similar ideas of the moon's power, a careful investigation has shown them to be erroneous. It has been a general belief in England, France, Germany, South America, the West Indies, the Mauritius, and other countries, that when trees are felled during the increase of the moon, the durability of the timber is impaired. In France the Forest Laws interdict the cutting of timber whilst the moon is on the increase. In Jamaica, it is stated that the wood of the Wallaba, a kind of mahogany, is extremely tough and durable if the tree be cut down during the moon's wane; but if it should be felled during the increase, its toughness and durability are destroyed. It is further said, that advantage is taken of these well-known facts as regards the purposes to which the wood is applied. The planters at the Mauritius declare that the houses of recent, are less durable than those of earlier construction—a difference attributed by them to the circumstance that attention is not now paid to the period of the moon when the trees from which the timber is obtained are cut down. These appear strong facts; and, as if to add to their weight, a very plausible explanation has been given to account for them,—it is stated that the sap rises more vigorously during the increase than during the decrease of the moon, and that when the sap is abun-

\* Perhaps this circumstance will not appear so remarkable if we consider the connection which is superstitiously believed to exist, by all nations, between the heavenly bodies and our planet.

dant, the wood is more readily attacked by worms, and that it is more likely to warp and split. This seems a very rational explanation; but, unfortunately, it is founded upon that which is not true. The ascension of the sap does *not* vary at different periods of the moon's age; there is no greater ascensional force during the increase of the moon. This is now well known to vegetable physiologists; and certainly it would be a most remarkable circumstance if the converse were correct. For, to quote the words of a recent writer, "can there be imagined in the whole range of natural science, a physical relation more extraordinary and unaccountable than this supposed correspondence between the movement of the sap and the phases of the moon?" It is, indeed, almost as extraordinary as the effect noticed by the learned Kerckringius:—

"He knew a young gentlewoman whose beauty depended upon the lunar force, insomuch that at full moon she was plump and very handsome, but in the decrease of the planet, so wan and ill-favored, that she was ashamed to go abroad till the return of the new moon gradually gave fulness to her face, and attractions to her charms."

But if the explanation will not bear examination, neither will the fact it is intended to explain. This subject—the alleged different qualities of timber from trees felled at different periods of the moon's age—was tested by M. Duhamel du Monceau, a French agriculturist. He cut down trees of the same age, growing from the same soil, and exposed to the same aspect; and from a careful examination of the timber, he has conclusively shown that there is no truth whatever in the belief that its qualities are in any way determined by lunar agency.

From the time of Pliny, rules have been laid down for the management of plants with reference to the age of the moon. Pliny says that "beans are to be sown at full moon, and lentils at new moon." Well might M. Arago exclaim, "Truly we have need of a robust faith to admit without proof that the moon at the distance of 240,000 miles shall in one position act advantageously upon the vegetation of beans, and that in the opposite position, and at the same distance, she shall be propitious to lentils!" The effect of the moon upon vegetation has been general in nearly all ages, and is common at the present time amongst gardeners in Europe, and amongst the cultivators upon the American Continent. It is not a mere passive, but an active belief, which materially guides them in their horticultural operations. It is, however, entirely erroneous; the subject has been fully investigated experimentally by several French agriculturists in

Europe, and M. de Chavalon at Martinique, with the effect of proving that no influence whatever is exerted by the moon upon vegetation. Lastly, what opinion has been more general than that of the connection between the changes of the moon and the weather? and yet it is now well known that for this belief there is not the shadow of foundation. To those of our readers who are in the habit of predicting the setting in of the monsoon at the next change of the moon, no doubt this assertion may appear somewhat startling. But the evidence upon this point is quite conclusive.

Strange, therefore, as it may appear, that a belief in the moon's influence should have prevailed amongst nations so distant that it could hardly have arisen from the same errors, still the instances we have adduced will be sufficient to show that, however difficult of explanation, it is not a circumstance upon which an argument of any value can be based. But of all evidence, that founded upon individual experience, or derived from general impressions, should be received with the greatest caution.

It is a kind of evidence, however, which it is difficult to combat. To tell a person who frequently has attacks of fever, or who experiences uneasy sensations, or who believes he has witnessed others similarly affected, at the changes of the moon, that it does not follow the moon has anything to do with them, would probably excite ridicule; and yet, if it were worth while to reason the matter out, the position might easily be maintained. No amount of reasoning, however, would convince a person who fancied he had experience on his side. We might prove to him that similar phenomena are of frequent occurrence at other times; that records carefully kept, extending over long periods of time, had shown that there is not the coincidence he supposes. He would probably admit that he had not made any note at the time of the occurrence of the attacks, and that their relation to the changes of the moon rests simply upon his recollection. Still his faith would not be shaken. We might further show him that the question of the moon's influence upon animal and vegetable life had been carefully investigated by persons eminently fitted to conduct such inquiries,—persons of high reputation, whose only object could be to arrive at the truth. What would probably be his reply?—"I place little confidence in statistics; they will prove anything; and as for the assertions of scientific men, did not Dr. Lardner declare steamers could not cross the Atlantic, and Sir Humphrey Davy make a mistake about gas?"

To reason from observation, and to trace the relation of cause and effect, is at all times difficult. Few are aware of the caution requisite to guard against fallacies, of the difficulty of correctly recording the simplest observation, and of the still greater difficulty of correctly drawing an inference from it.

Probably, no better illustration of the first and the last part of the above proposition could be adduced, than by a reference to some of the exhibitions a year or two ago upon the subjects of "Table-turning."

A number of persons placed their hands upon a table, and without any voluntary effort on their part, the table turned round. The fact was undisputed. But what was the inference?—that some new force was in operation, or that it was some peculiar and hitherto unknown manifestation of electricity; or, if that was disputed or not sufficient, it was satanic influence. Now, we venture to say that scarcely one of those who were so eager to draw inferences and to offer explanations were acquainted with the manner in which movement is effected. They would probably have been surprised had they been informed that movements, energetic enough, are both frequent and continuous in animal bodies, of which the mind has no cognisance whatever; that, although in most instances the muscles of the limbs are called into action through the instrumentality of the will, yet many facts are on record to show that their action may be altogether independent of it. To have hinted that possibly some force was exerted upon the table by the fingers which was inappreciable to the owners, would have been scouted. Although, in a popular sense, the observation was here correct—the table did turn round—yet in a scientific point of view it was inaccurate, because it was essentially connected with a denial of the agency of muscular force; and herein lies the great difficulty, the almost impossibility—unless in those trained and disciplined—of disconnecting an "observed fact" from an erroneous interpretation of its cause. It has been observed, and with much truth, that the greater number of popular delusions are due to uninstructed observation.

Probably there is scarcely any person of moderate education and intelligence, but who considers himself fitted to observe correctly, and to draw inferences from his observations. We can readily imagine the indignation which would be excited, if the Major, who had spent the greatest part of his days at Rajamahabad, drilling his soldiers and eating his currie, were to be told, when descanting upon the influence of the moon, that he was not



capable of either observing or reasoning upon this or any other scientific subject; and yet such an allegation might be made with perfect truth, and without necessarily casting any reflection upon his education or intelligence. The capability of observing natural phenomena in such a way as to render the observation available for scientific induction, can no more be acquired without study and practice, than can the facility of commanding a brigade, or blowing the French horn.

Even if it should be shown that various phenomena recur at the principal lunar changes, still the inference is not necessarily correct that the two stand in the relation of *cause* and *effect*. We are not, however, desirous to maintain this position in the present instance; if it can be demonstrated that fevers and other diseases recur, or are modified with remarkable frequency, at the changes of the moon, we are prepared for the moment to admit, without further examination, the doctrine of lunar agency.

The question that we now wish to discuss is this:—*Is there anywhere recorded satisfactory proof of the greater frequency of fevers &c. at the lunar changes than at other periods?*

This question can scarcely be answered, unless we clear the way by defining what is to be understood by satisfactory proof. No doubt, this subject will present itself differently to different minds; but the only proof which in a question of this nature appears satisfactory to us is, a carefully collected and accurately recorded series of observations, made by persons fitted to observe, extending over a number of years, and embracing different localities. Assuming for the moment that this is the only kind of proof that can be deemed conclusive, we may answer the question in the negative. There is not to be found evidence of this kind in support of the doctrine of lunar agency. But it must not be supposed that there is no evidence upon the subject. Throughout almost every work upon tropical diseases, we find the *statements* of medical observers. It will be, however, necessary, in order to examine fairly the kind of evidence which is recorded, to sketch briefly the progress of medical opinion upon the subject.

Up to the year 1768 there is nowhere to be found any notice of the influence of the moon in tropical diseases. In that year Dr. James Lind, who had been in Bengal, published a thesis, calling attention to the belief as one capable of direct proof in the fevers of tropical countries. He was followed in 1784 by Dr. Balfour, afterwards President of the Medical Board at Calcutta, who seems to have devoted his life to the subject. Dr. Balfour published

several treatises, written with earnestness and vigor. He was evidently a sincere believer, and deeply impressed with what he conceived to be the practical importance of the discovery. Actuated by a praiseworthy desire to obtain information, he transmitted the following circular to the greater number of the European inhabitants at that time in India :—

" From several observations made within these few years in different parts of the world, some attempts have been made to revive a doctrine of very great antiquity in medicine—viz., that in fevers, and also in other diseases, the human body is affected in a considerable degree by an influence connected with the revolutions of the sun and moon.

" Amongst a variety of facts adduced in support of this doctrine, the following, being analogous to the phenomena of the tides, appear to be the most striking and conclusive:—

" 1. That the paroxysms of fevers show themselves in a greater degree of violence about the full and the change of the moon (that is to say, about three days and a half before and after, including at each period a space of about seven days), than during the intervals between these periods.

" 2. That the paroxysms of fevers occurring during the periods described, are constantly more violent about mid-day and night (that is to say, in the space included between half after eight in the morning, and half after three in the afternoon, and between half after eight in the evening, and half after three in the morning, including at each a space of about seven hours), than during the intervals between these spaces.

" 3. That some remarkable abatement in the violence of the paroxysms never fails to take place upon the expiration of the periods of the full and change.

" 4. That the paroxysms of fevers, whilst they abate in violence upon the expiration of the period of full and change, shift also their accession or attack to a later hour.

" To determine whether there actually exists in nature a *general law* of so great power, or whether it be merely the *phantom* of a few individuals, must certainly appear to every man of sense and candour to be a matter of consequence, not only to medicine, but to every branch of natural knowledge.

" From this persuasion I have been induced to undertake the collection of all the information I can obtain on this subject; and flattering myself that every lover of science will be ready to assist me with his testimony, as far as it goes, on either side of the question, I have taken the liberty of requesting the communication of any facts that may appear to be connected with my present object."

We are not aware how many replies to this circular were received by Dr. Balfour. He has, however, published sixty-five, all of which are more or less favorable to his views. It is impossible to examine this correspondence without being impressed with the perfect sincerity and good faith of all engaged in it. Were a similar circular at the present time distributed throughout India, probably six hundred, instead of sixty-five replies would

be returned, equally evincing sincerity and good faith, and equally strong in favor of lunar agency. Having made this concession, it will no doubt be asked—Is not this proof? What more can possibly be required? We reply that it is *not* proof; it is evidence undoubtedly worthy of respectful consideration, but it is not conclusive evidence. In considering the value of such evidence, it is essential to keep in mind that it consists, for the most part, of *impressions* drawn from recollection, and not of conclusions derived from recorded facts. Fallacy in such evidence must of necessity be looked for. It is scarcely possible for those who have not been in the habit of putting their impressions to the test of systematic examination, to conceive the extent to which they mislead; yet upon a little reflection, it seems surprising that they should ever be trusted.

The mind is not equally acted upon by passing occurrences; each phenomenon of which it is cognisant is not received as a single and distinct impression, abstracted from all others. On the contrary, every impression is more or less compound; and the retention of a fact is often due to its association with other phenomena which take a deeper hold of the recollection. This proposition—which will probably not be disputed—may, we think, be very fairly made applicable to the subject under discussion. Those derangements of health which occur about the principal lunar changes, are, on account of their apparent connection with those changes, more fixed upon the recollection than similar derangements which may happen at other times. When, therefore, we attempt to recall slight attacks of illness which have occurred to ourselves, or which we may have witnessed in others, we are very prone to remember the attacks which were marked by their coincidence with *spring*s, and forget those which were present at other periods of the moon's age. A somewhat similar explanation may probably be offered to account for the popular belief in the relation between the moon and the weather (now shown to be erroneous) which has for so long maintained its ground. Changes which take place at the principal lunar phases are fixed upon the mind, and are set down to the *moon*, in forgetfulness that in the fourteen days of the *spring*s one half of the total changes of the month must occur were our satellite not in existence. •

But to return to Dr. Balfour. He was quite satisfied with the replies to his circular, and more particularly with one which we here take leave to quote. It is from the late Dr. Helenus Scott, a distinguished member of the Bombay Medical Service:—

"The influence of the moon on the human body has been observed in *this part of India by every medical practitioner*. It is universally acknowledged by the doctors of all colors, of all castes, and of all countries. The people are taught to believe it in their infancy; and as they grow up they acknowledge it from experience. I suppose that in the northern latitudes this power of the moon is far less sensible than in India; and perhaps less so in Bengal than in our neighbourhood. We here *universally* think that the state of weakly and diseased bodies is much influenced by the motions of the moon. Many people know the very day on which their intermittents will make their appearance, and every full and change increases the number of the patients of every practitioner. It is no argument against this influence that diseases appear during every day of the month. The human body is subject to alterations from a thousand external circumstances, and from many affections of the mind. These lay the foundation of disease at every period; but they do not overthrow the evidence of lunar influence, although they are apt to mislead with regard to effects that depend on that alone. That the human body is affected in a remarkable manner by the changes of the moon, I am perfectly convinced, although I cannot constantly pretend to see the operation of the general law, nor to account at all times for its perturbation; and agree in thinking that an attention to the power of the moon is highly necessary to the medical practitioner in India."

We have printed this letter at length because we are anxious to give a specimen of the kind of evidence recorded in favor of lunar influence. Can anything be stronger than these statements?—but *where are the facts upon which they are based?*

We can only say, that after a residence of twelve years in Bombay, associated a good deal with the Native community, we have never heard the subject of lunar influence mentioned by a Native;\* and further, that with our attention turned to the subject, we have never observed anything which would lead us to believe in the existence of any relation whatever between the changes of the moon and diseases.

Dr. Balfour was rather roughly handled by the English reviewers, who appear to have rejected his whole system as chimerical.

In the year 1787 Dr. Jackson, in a very sensible letter to Sir Joseph Banks, mentioned what he had some years previously observed in the West Indies. His statements, so far as they go, are very circumstantial, but they do not agree with those of Dr. Balfour as to the days when lunar influence is manifested. He says:—

¶ Having related the above observations, which I flatter myself were

\* Since this was written, we have been informed that amongst the Parsees, and to some extent also amongst Hindus, a vague impression does prevail that the moon has some mysterious influence upon all diseases, but not upon fevers in particular.

made in a manner little liable to deception, and in the noting of which I was not consciously biassed by theory, it may not be amiss to take a view of the account given by Dr. Balfour. The three days immediately following new and full moon are what are mentioned by him as the period remarkable for the invasion and relapse of fevers; but it is a pity he does not tell us on what facts he founded his opinion. If it is drawn from a loose, from a gross estimate of what he thought he saw, it cannot be depended upon. Unless a man is circumstantial in his facts, and very circumstantial too, a preconceived opinion leads him astray; for it is seldom, very seldom, that theory does not run before observation."

From this time there is scarcely a writer upon the diseases of tropical countries but who has noticed the question of lunar influence. Any one interested in the subject will find the observations collated in a paper in the Sixth Number of the Transactions of the Medical and Physical Society of Bombay.

But much as is the weight justly attached to the authority of these writers, it should be noticed that their statements are not based upon recorded facts. On this account alone they must necessarily be received with caution,—the more so, when it is remembered that opinions almost equally numerous, and equally strongly expressed, as to the influence of the moon, have been proved to be erroneous. But in addition to this, we would call attention to several circumstances which cannot but be calculated to throw considerable doubt upon the validity of the doctrine.

The closest observers, and who particularly directed their minds to the subject, were Drs. Balfour and Jackson. They agree as to the influence of the moon in fevers, but differ altogether as to the period when such influence is manifested. In whatever way we may be disposed to account for this discrepancy, it must necessarily cast a doubt upon the conclusions drawn from the cases submitted to the observation of these gentlemen, and thus, to a certain extent, diminish the weight we might otherwise attach to their statements.

But we have no wish to push this argument, although by some it may probably be deemed of importance. The direct evidence which seems to tell most against the probability of lunar influence is contained in a very valuable report published by order of the Madras Government in 1816. It was drawn up by a committee appointed to inquire into the causes of an epidemic fever which prevailed in the years 1809, 1810, and 1811. The committee appear to have investigated the effect of the moon upon this fever with much care, and to have arrived at the conclusion that but little coincidence could be detected. They also refer to a Report

from Mr. Currie, Surgeon to the Residency at Hyderabad, who appears to have stated that he clearly ascertained, from a record of attacks and relapses kept in the hospital of the 1st Regiment of Cavalry for a period of two years, that so far from a greater number of attacks or relapses happening at or near the full moon, they were actually then less common than at other periods.

Mr. Geddes, one of the most distinguished members of the Madras Medical Service, in a Report of a fever which raged at Seringapatam, expresses his opinion, from an examination of records kept during a period of eleven months, that the influence of the moon is not so decided as is generally believed; and he thinks it is no slight argument against the idea of lunar influence that such a circumstance has never yet suggested itself to the imagination of the Natives. In the Transactions of the Medical and Physical Society of Bombay for the year 1843, there is a very valuable Table drawn up by the late Dr. Cruickshank, of the Bombay Medical Service, of a large number of cases of fever which occurred during the China expedition:—

“ In this Table the morbid periods, or those at which lunar influence is particularly manifested, are presumed to be the three days preceding, the three following, and the day of each principal lunar change. The number of attacks is, however, given upon all the other days of the moon's age. Of 11 cases of remittent fever, 3 only happened within the days above-mentioned as the morbid periods, the remaining 8 having occurred at other times. This shows a proportion of 8 cases against the supposition of the moon's influence in this form of fever.

“ Of 76 cases of first attacks of quotidian fever, there is only a maximum of 6 cases at the principal lunar changes; and in the next column of 36 cases of tertian, the number of attacks is the same in the morbid and non-morbid periods.

“ The total number of first attacks of intermittent fever observed is 123, 62 of which happened near the changes, and 61 at other times, showing only 1 case in favor of the full and new moon.

“ Again, out of 153 relapses noticed, there is only a difference of 5 cases between the attacks which happened in what have been called the morbid periods (or the springs), and those which occurred at other periods of the moon.

“ ‘ It appears, therefore,’ as Dr. Cruickshank observes, ‘ that neither in the first attacks nor relapses does the moon seem to have exerted any perceptible influence.’ ”

The writer of the paper from which this extract is taken further observes—

“ There is one circumstance which I ought perhaps to mention here. In conversation with Dr. Cruickshank before these Tables were made out, as to his opinion of the effect of the lunar changes upon the fever which

prevailed in China, he said that he had the strongest belief in their marked influence ; in fact, that the impression on his mind was so strong, that scarcely anything could make him doubt it. At my request he kindly put his opinion to the test, by preparing the above Table from records which he had kept with the view of investigating this subject.

"The entirely different view of the subject which the arrangement of facts gave rise to in this instance from the one which had been drawn from observation, appears to me to afford a tolerably good illustration of a remark which has been hazarded in a preceding part of this paper—namely, as to the difficulty of forming an accurate opinion on some points from cursory observation. It is with this view that I have alluded to it, as well as to show that the Table may be looked upon as perfectly impartial."

We would observe, that in mentioning these few facts we have no intention of claiming for them the rank of negative proof. We at once admit that there are not facts on record sufficiently numerous to disprove the connection between the moon and disease. It is not, however, for those who doubt this connection to establish a *negative*, but rather for those who maintain it to prove the *affirmative*. When an assertion is made—to say the least of it, very unlikely to be true, and which, if admitted, will probably render it necessary to acknowledge the existence of a force hitherto undiscovered—we are surely entitled to demand that the evidence in support of it should be strong and unassailable. Now, in this instance, is not the evidence quite the reverse ? Is there a single series of well-authenticated facts to be found on record in support of it ? We do not esteem the observations of medical men, unrecorded and uncircumstantial, as facts, any more than we regard as such the uncircumstantial statements of unprofessional persons. We have no wish to reflect upon the Faculty ; but did not one of their greatest ornaments, Cullen, put it upon record, that in medicine there are more "false facts than false theories" ? Were not medical opinions almost as numerous, and as strongly expressed, as to the moon's connection with cholera ; and yet what was their value after the Madras Report was drawn up ?

But we believe much more weight is given in this matter to the results of general experience, than even to the strongly-expressed opinions of medical observers. Almost every one fancies he has experienced in his own person, or witnessed in others, the effects of the moon ; indeed, the subject is talked about in Bombay, and we suppose also in other parts of India, in such a manner as to give the impression that it is no longer a question *sub judice*,—that no more evidence can by possibility be required in support of it. Now it is against this that we enter our protest. Here is an

influence of the most extraordinary kind—inexplicable by a reference to any known physical law, not shown to be in any way connected with atmospheric vicissitudes, requiring, if credited, the acknowledgment of the existence of some new force,—admitted by medical men and others, upon evidence so weak and inconclusive that as a mere question of science, if brought before a jury of scientific men, it would be at once laughed out of Court. It has been proved in European countries that there are no meteorological changes coincident with the phases of the moon, and it may fairly be predicated that there will be no greater coincidence within the Tropics.\* The most carefully-conducted magnetical observations have failed to detect any modification of the great force of electricity; and as regards heat, when the rays of the moon were so concentrated that, had they been the rays of the sun, the heat would have been sufficient to fuse gold, the thermometer did not rise the thousandth part of a degree. In the face of all this, it may be asked in what way can the moon act upon living matter? Can any possible explanation be given? We do not suppose any one now-a-days would be disposed to maintain the old-fashioned notion, that our satellite has an attraction for the fluids and spirits of living bodies, similar to that which she exercises upon the waters of the earth; and yet is it at all uncommon to hear even intelligent men reason that, *because* she influences the tides, it is probable she may have an influence upon diseases? In discussing this subject, we have ever been met by an argument of this kind,—“Prove that the moon has nothing to do with the tides, and then I will believe she has nothing to do with fevers.”

In bringing prominently forward the great difficulty of offering any rational explanation of the manner in which animal bodies can be affected by the relative position of the sun and moon to the earth, we would by no means be understood as offering it as an argument in any way sufficient to disprove the existence of such influence. But this much must be conceded: it renders it necessary that the proofs in support of it should be more full and conclusive than they need be if an evident and reasonable explanation could be afforded. So long as there was reason for believing that meteorological disturbances were common

\* We are aware that upon this point different sentiments are entertained by some whose opinion we respect. We were desirous of collecting some information from the Observatory Reports; the omission, however, of Sunday observations renders this impossible.



at the changes of the moon, there was of course no difficulty in understanding how diseases might be modified at those times ; but now that it seems certain there is no relation between the moon and the weather, the question is placed entirely upon a different footing. Another argument which may be fairly urged in support of the probability that the belief in the influence of the moon in diseases may turn out to be fallacious, is founded upon the following very remarkable fact,—that coeval with the advance of civilisation and enlightenment, the circle of belief as to the relation of the moon to diseases has been progressively narrowed, until it may be said that at the present time it merely includes the influence of the moon upon a few diseases in tropical climates. For long, indeed, insanity maintained its ground ; but the recent researches of M. Pinel and others go far to prove that mental maladies are in no way under the influence of the lunar alternations. This should not be passed over without reflection. Was there ever a belief more general than that of the connection between maniacal paroxysms and the principal changes of the moon ? To have hinted, until within the last few years, the least doubt of such relation, would, in the estimation of most people, have afforded abundant proof that the sceptic was a fit subject to be received amongst those upon whom the influence was believed to be exerted.

But this is not the only reflection to which a contemplation of the question of lunar influence in insanity will give rise : it cannot but be noticed that it affords a good illustration of a common and fallacious mode of reasoning upon the causes of disease. It was observed that on moonlight nights the inmates of lunatic asylums were more noisy than at other times. The conclusion drawn from this circumstance was, that there exists some mysterious relation between the moon and the mind. The simple and true explanation of the greater amount of light acting as a stimulant was discarded, so great an inherent tendency is there in the human mind to seek for mysterious and occult causes.

The next fact to which we would invite attention is, to say the least of it, very singular. Whenever a popular belief in the moon's influence upon our planet has been experimentally or statistically tested, the result has, so far as we are aware, been invariably opposed to the existence of any such influence. Several facts which support this assertion have been already adduced, and many others might be mentioned. The supposed effect of certain phases of the moon in favoring the growth of oysters

and shell-fish, in altering the quantity of marrow in the bones of animals, in modifying the weight of the human body, in influencing the birth of children, in hastening the putrefaction of animal substances, has been carefully investigated, and proved to be wholly untrue. We are not aware, indeed, of a single instance where there has been shown to be any influence whatever exercised by the moon upon our planet, beyond the production of those physical changes which are readily explained by a reference to the laws of attraction.

It will probably have been observed, that it is not our object to attempt to *disprove* the existence of a relation between the moon and disease. It does not, indeed, appear to us very clear as to what kind of negative proof would be deemed satisfactory. The records of hospitals would certainly not afford all the desired information, although many important facts might be obtained from such sources. But in truth, it is for those who maintain this doctrine to bring forward proof in support of it; and this we contend they have not done. What its advocates designate proof, we style evidence merely, and very untrustworthy evidence it is. On the other hand, we have, we think, adduced quite sufficient to satisfy any unbiassed mind that the weight of probability is altogether against the supposition that there is any such thing as lunar agency in disease.

If we shall have awakened attention to this subject, and have induced by these few remarks those fitted for such investigations to take advantage of their opportunities to examine a question of undoubted interest and importance, we shall have succeeded in effecting all that we proposed to ourselves in the preparation of this article.

In conclusion, there is yet one point to which we will allude. It may be said, "*Cui bono?*" What is the use of this discussion? If old men and matrons, young men and maidens, choose to think that between them and the moon there is some mysterious connection, why try to undeceive them? Their belief, or infatuation, if you please, is at all events harmless. Now, putting on one side the abstract proposition that error should be removed, it is just because we believe that this delusion, if a delusion, is *not* harmless, that we have taken the trouble to bring it before our readers. No one, we think, will doubt that a close relation exists between the mind and various bodily derangements, and that certain mental states frequently act as the immediate exciting causes of attacks of illness. The mere concentration of the mind upon the stomach will

even in health give rise to uneasy sensations in that organ, and otherwise materially interfere with the digestion of the food. It must be likewise familiar to every one, how frequently attacks of periodical head-ache are prevented by fixing the attention upon some subject of engrossing interest ; and on the other hand, how often the mere expectation of an attack will hasten its occurrence. When, therefore, persons are predisposed to febrile derangements (as indeed most persons are in tropical climates), the active belief in the probability of an attack at any particular period will often prove sufficient to excite it, just as, when the predisposition is great, irregularity of diet, fatigue, mental emotion, or a slight change of temperature, will act as efficient exciting causes. If this be so, the belief in the “springs” is *not* harmless ; and if untrue, should most certainly be removed. That there are instances amongst delicate and nervous persons where such an impression is very prejudicial, we entertain no kind of doubt.

But it will doubtless be said that people often judge of the presence of the springs by their feelings ; and that attacks of fever, or uneasy sensations, frequently come on when the period of the moon is unknown to the individual attacked. This we at once admit to be the case. The truth seems to be this : wherever there is a predisposition to fever, every change of weather is liable to bring on a paroxysm. Changes of weather of course occur at the springs as well as at other times, and seeing that the fourteen days of the springs are half the month, such changes must be frequent at those times. Whenever it so happens that the attack of fever is coincident with the change of the moon, the circumstance is fixed upon the mind. Is it so when the attack occurs at other periods ?

All that we ask is this.—Let each person who suffers, as is supposed, only at the springs, carefully make a written note of every attack, without any reference whatever to the period of the moon in which it occurs ; let him continue this for a year, and then examine the result.

# ART. III.—THE INTERNAL ECONOMY OF BOMBAY A CENTURY AGO.

1726—1740.

*Report on the Landed Tenures of Bombay.* By F. WARDEN, Esq., one of the Secretaries to Government. In the Transactions of the Bombay Geographical Society, Vol. III.

MR. FRANCIS WARDEN was a voluminous writer, though not in the popular sense of the word an author. He compiled a volume of Selections from the Records of Government, and wrote accounts of the province of Oman, the Arab tribes of the Persian Gulf, the Uttoobee tribe, the Wahabees, the Joasmees, of Rahmeir bin Jaubir, Chief of Khor Hassan, and we know not of how many other individuals, tribes, or provinces; but these he left in manuscript. The only composition which, as far as we can ascertain, he gave to the press, was the above-mentioned article on Land Tenures. Upon this some labour was evidently bestowed, but the information contained in it is so scanty, the style so bald, the arrangement so defective, that it is quite unworthy of a Secretary to Government, and would probably have been as well prepared if undertaken by one of the clerks in his establishment. Although we have frequently referred to it when collecting materials for the present article, we have usually been compelled to turn from it for our supply to other sources.

The East India Company's choice in selecting Bombay to be a stronghold of their power and an emporium of trade, must be attributed to the penetration and sagacity of Sir Josiah Child, whose influence in the Court of Directors at that time was absolute; and it does him infinite credit. And yet was it one of those strokes of policy which are never felt by contemporaries, but only by posterity,—a design at which politicians of that age, even of a succeeding age, might sneer, and the complete success of which was reserved for the admiration of children's children. Very soon after the Court had sent out their orders to fortify the island and form a military establishment, the Siddee's invasion seemed to prove that it was

unwise to place their servants in an attitude of defence and exhibit them in the character of independent settlers, thus exciting them, if not to commit acts of aggression, yet to defy the hostility of the Moghul Empire. What the event has since shown to have been an act of consummate wisdom, then appeared to the panic-stricken English a forerunner of impending ruin; and even so late as the period of which we are now writing, there must have been occasional misgivings as to the prudence of making Bombay a seat of Government. Although the Company's power was rapidly growing, yet this stronghold was not then a flourishing settlement; it was dwindling away, and threatened with premature decay. Sir Thomas Roe, who had warned the Company against building forts and organising armies, appeared to have been a wiser counsellor than the ambitious Sir Josiah Child.

Doubtless, the foundations of a sound and enduring policy are ever thus laid in an alternation of successes and reverses, a conglomerate of triumphs and defeats. Doubtless, in the history of nations, as in that of great men, we may observe moments when, as they supposed, the thread of their destinies was on the point of being severed, and their career approaching an untimely end. Often do they thus sink below the horizon and disappear for a time before they rise upon the world in full glory. The constitutions under which people arrive at greatness cannot be simply the product of abstract thought and speculative ingenuity; rather they are inductions from wants which have either been felt or which an altered state of affairs shows must be provided against, and from errors the consequences of which must be averted—in brief, from long and painful experience.

The depressed condition of Bombay was caused partly by errors, partly by circumstances which no statesman could have foreseen. With a sincere desire to administer justice, Government combined such ignorance of their native subjects—their feelings, customs, good qualities, intrigues, and perfidy—that they were frequently guilty of great injustice, unconsciously persecuting the innocent, and reposing confidence in traitors. By expelling numbers of suspected Portuguese, they had reduced to insignificance a population which was before diminished; and the Company, whose attention was distracted by their rising settlements at Hooghly and Madras, were too much disposed to treat Bombay with parsimony and neglect. These were errors which they might have avoided; but for other depressing circumstances they were in no way responsible. It was not their fault that they were surrounded

by open enemies and false friends, that they had not a single ally upon whom they could place dependence, that the Portuguese of Salsette were continually tormenting them with petty affronts, that the Marathas on the continent cut off their supplies of provisions, or that Angria's cruisers threatened their native merchants with ruin by plundering their ships, and committed ravages even in their harbour. Such difficulties they could not always meet by active efforts ; all that they could do was to wait with calmness until the tide should turn, and opportunities be offered of conciliating or chastising their turbulent neighbours.\*

By way of correcting one class of errors, the Court of Directors made a serious effort to improve the administration of justice, and for that purpose represented in 1726 to His Majesty George the First, "that there was great want at Madras, Fort William, and Bombay, of a proper and competent power and authority for the more speedy and effectual administering of justice in civil causes, and for the trying and punishing of capital and other criminal offences and misdemeanours."† In Bombay judicial functions had been exercised by a civilian, styled Chief Justice, and in important cases by the President and Council, who were the only Justices of Peace for the island ; and now the sole remedy which they could suggest, the sole reform after years of mal-administration, was the establishment of a Mayor's Court. As this poor expedient met with the royal approbation, letters patent were issued the same year on the 24th of September, the date of the new Charter. By these it was decreed that the new Court should consist of a Mayor and nine Aldermen, eight of whom, including the Mayor, were required to be naturalised subjects of the British Crown, but the other two might be subjects of any friendly nation. All the Aldermen were to be selected from the principal inhabitants of the place, were to hold office for life, unless suspended for misconduct, and to elect the Mayor annually from amongst their number. Appeals against the Court's decisions might be carried up to the President in Council, and in civil suits involving a certain amount, to His Majesty's Privy Council. The same letters patent re-constituted the President and Senior Members of Council Justices of the Peace, and empowered them to hold quarter sessions.‡

\* An account of the depressed condition of Bombay may be found in Warden's Report on the Landed Tenures.

† Auber's Analysis, page 229.

‡ Grant's Sketch of the East India Company, page 112. Macpherson's

The new Charter did not reach Bombay until February 1728. The tenth of that month it was publicly read on the recently-built pier, in the presence of the Europeans and leading men of Native castes. The President and Council, Sheriff, Mayor, and Aldermen then took the oaths of allegiance; after which the President harangued the assembly, pointing out to all the value of their new privileges, and setting before the members of the corporation the duties which they had that day undertaken to discharge.\*

The Court had to encounter all the jealousy and prejudice which usually stand in the way of new institutions, and they bitterly complained that the chief officers of Government were the worst obstacles to their administration of justice. Lowther, the Chief of Surat, being called upon by them to execute a commission for examining witnesses, bluffly questioned their authority, and did not even condescend to treat them with courtesy. Government, it is true, took up their quarrel on that occasion, and reprimanded the Chief, but at other times they interfered with the Court's proceedings and fettered their independence. The consequence was, that although the Mayor's salary was sixty-two pounds ten shillings per annum, the same as that of the Chief Justice had been, and the office would under other circumstances have been coveted by senior civilians as a valuable addition to their fortune and influence, it yet became so extremely difficult to find qualified persons for it, that frequently when the 20th of December, the day of election, arrived, no candidates appeared. After repeatedly re-electing the Mayor as often as his term had expired, it became necessary to raise the fine for refusing to serve, from one to four hundred rupees; and this again led to disputes between

History of European Commerce with India. There had been a Mayor's Court at Madras before this time. Charles Lockyer wrote in 1711, "that they have a mayor and aldermen, who exercise the same authority as in corporations in England. Quarrels, small debts, and other business of the meaner sort, are decided by them at a court of six aldermen, held thrice a week in the Town-hall. Black merchants commonly apply to this court, but Europeans usually seek favor of the Governor. When any are not satisfied by the mayor's justice, they may appeal to a higher court, where for much money they have little law, with a great deal of formality. Here a Judge allowed by the Company presides, who on the report of a Jury gives a final decree of European malefactors; they hang none but pirates, though formerly here have been men put to death for other crimes, whence I am apt to think that the Governors had then great powers." He adds: "Lawyers are plenty, and as knowing as can be expected from broken linendrapers and other cracked tradesmen, who seek their fortunes here by their wits." Kaye's Administration of the East India Company, part iii., chap. i.

\* Consultation Book of the Government.

the Court and Government, each insisting upon their supposed right to enforce this penalty. Government, however, in this instance had the forbearance to waive their claim until a reference could be made to the Court of Directors and proper regulations be received.

The criminal justice which the Court dealt was severe, in accordance with and beyond the spirit of the age. The ordinary punishment for petty thefts and larcenies was whipping, which was either inflicted at a cart's tail as the delinquent was led round the town-wall, or else at the public whipping-post before crowds of spectators on a market-day. Felony was a capital crime, and when Mr. Jenkinson's escrivoir had been robbed of fifteen guineas by his slave-boy in connivance with his horse-keeper, the wretched Alexander and Fakir Rao were both sentenced to be hanged. About the same time a native woman who had conspired with her paramour to murder her husband was ordered to be burnt; a mode of execution by which only female criminals seem to have now suffered.\*

Together with the population the revenues of the island had become diminished, and attempts were made for some time in vain to restore them. An extensive plot of ground lying along Back-bay was let in 1728 to five persons, on condition that they should plant thirteen hundred and fifty-five cocoa-nut trees. The whole of Malabar Hill was let on lease at a rent of only a hundred and thirty rupees per annum; and the island of Colaba also for a proportionate amount. An application from a number of Bhundaries, who supported themselves by cultivating palm-trees and drawing and distilling the arrack, and who now desired to be received on the island, was hailed with satisfaction, as high value was set on the services of such men; not only on account of their industry, but of the courage and steadiness which they had long ago displayed when Bombay was invaded. Their mucedum or chief man was therefore granted a lease for seven years, of between three and four hundred cocoa-nut trees, a hundred and eleven of which were within the town-wall, at a rent of three quarters of a rupee for each tree.† Strange to say, no system of leasing land within the

\* Consultation Book, 10th February 1728; July 1728; 20th December 1731, and 11th November 1734. The proceedings of the Court were registered, and the above sentences are taken from the Register for the years from 1743 to 1745, inclusive. A woman was burnt at London for clipping coin in 1695. Macaulay's History of England, vol. iv., p. 623.

† These people subsequently complained that their ancient privilege of selling



Fort or on the island generally was regularly observed; nor were the titles of householders ascertained; nor indeed was any survey of all or parts of the island attempted until the year 1731, when for the first time it was ordered that a survey should be made of all lands within the Fort, whether occupied by Natives or Europeans. A Committee appointed for the purpose having engaged the services of Captain William Sanderson, Clerk of the Works, reported on the third of December that quit-rents and ground-rents had been from time immemorial paid irregularly, and just as the collecting officers were disposed to favour the tenants or otherwise. Consequent upon the measurement and calculations made by the Committee, Government resolved to introduce a new method of collecting rents, and required all owners of houses to apply for a form of a lease which would be regarded as their title of possession; also that for the future all persons wishing to build should state what site they had selected and what style of edifice they proposed to raise on it, to the land-paymaster, who would grant them licenses to build, at his discretion, charging two rupees if the building was to be of stone and tiles, or one rupee if only a thatched cottage. But so inefficient was the machinery of State, that for a year and a half no attention was paid to this order; so that on the eighteenth of May 1733 it became necessary to threaten with forfeiture all such householders as should not produce within six months an authentic lease signed by the Secretary. The term of such leases was forty-one years, at the expiration of which time they could be renewed by the payment of a fine equivalent to half a year's rent. On the whole, this, like many others on the same subject, was a rash and inconsiderate measure; for as persons had been permitted to occupy lands at their pleasure until all the ground within the present limits of the Fort had become private property, and as this practice had been continued without ~~inter-~~ruption since the days of President Aungier, it was unjust to transform suddenly, and by a mere stroke of the pen, possessors in fee simple into lessees. Probably this was felt and tacitly acknow-

arrack had been taken from them and disposed of to a contractor. They offered, if it should be restored to them, to sell arrack at the rate of four seers for a pice, and a measure of toddy for one pice. In their petition they state that they had possessed the privilege on condition of rendering military service, keeping a guard at the Governor's door from 9 to 11 A. M. and 3 to 5 P. M.; that seven years after the island had passed under the Company's rule, two hundred xeraphims had been demanded of them by Government; but that afterwards all their dues had been remitted in consequence of the bravery they displayed at the time of the Siddi's invasion. Consultation Book, November 1735.

ledged ; for six months after the order was issued, no leases had been applied for, nor any forfeitures declared. In fact, the land revenue remained as before, under no regular system.\*

Difficulties and complaints were renewed the following year, when an order was received from the Court of Directors for collecting the ground-rents and quit-rents. The inhabitants petitioned earnestly against the imposition of a burden which was the more vexatious on account of its novelty, and maintained, that as an agreement had been made originally between the landholders and East India Company, according to which twenty thousand xeraphims were paid by the former for such lands as had lapsed to the latter, all taxes on land had been commuted by such payment. They represented also that they had lately made a voluntary contribution of thirty thousand rupees to meet the expenses of Government, and of two per cent. on imports to build the town wall. They would even submit, they said, to a further impost on trade, if Government stood in urgent need of money, but they entreated that they might not be required to pay rent.—So reluctantly do the inhabitants of India—more so than even those of Europe—submit to any novelty in taxation. Rent is the least objectionable form in which the subject can pay his money directly for the support of the State, and import duties are always felt as impediments to commerce ; yet established precedent was quite sufficient to condemn the former and to recommend the latter in the estimation of the merchants of Bombay.†

These import duties were already so heavy, that the wonder is they did not altogether put a stop to trade ; and the Brinjaries, who have been for centuries the principal carriers in Western India, complained bitterly of the grievous burdens they were required to bear. The merchants whom they employed in Bombay as brokers demanded of them an *ad valorem* payment of fourteen per cent., including five per cent. charged at the Custom-house, three per cent. for weighing, brokerage and portorage, three per cent. for duties paid to the Marathas at Carinja, and three per cent. to the Portuguese for building the town walls of Tanna and Bassein. Such extortions would certainly have repelled these most useful of carriers from the place, unless Government had interfered. An order was therefore issued, warning

\* Consultation Book, 18th May 1733. Warden on the Landed Tenures.

† Consultation Book, December 1734, and 25th April 1735.

brokers against collecting any duties but such as were demanded by the Honorable Company; and a letter was written to the Portuguese, desiring that their duties should be relinquished, in compliance with the eleventh article of Charles the Second's Marriage-treaty—a request with which the General of the North, who was in difficulties and anxious to maintain a good understanding with the Government of Bombay, deemed it prudent to comply.\*

The strain on the revenues arising from public works was becoming too great, for they were on a scale more than commensurate with the resources of Government. None occasioned more trouble and anxiety than “the Great Breach,” a name given by persistance of terms to the long causeway which excludes the sea from the islands of Bombay, and which continued for many years a source of expense. Even when large sums had been lavished upon it, the wall was found to have been constructed so unskilfully, that it was much damaged by the violent storm with which the monsoon of 1728 opened, and money was required in order that an inclination might be given to its perpendicular formation. A discussion arose as to whether the repairs of Sion Fort should be included in the public charges. It had been held on a sort of feudal tenure by a Captain Vachery, who had repaired it at his own expense without reference to Government, and he was reimbursed only after the delay of a reference to the Court of Directors. The engineering department was in a most imperfect state, and when an overseer of works was wanted, Government could only resort to the Marine Service. We find them entering into an engagement with Archibald Campbell, First Lieutenant of the “Princess Carolina,” “an ingenious person, and having a good notion of architecture and other parts of the mathematicks.” His first measure was to propose the erection of windmills on Old Woman’s Island, for the manufacture of gunpowder; but it was resolved not to introduce them, as the Natives were unaccustomed to their use. Instead of them, twenty-four pestles were worked by buffaloes; but as in a little time the situation was not considered to be adapted for the manufacture of gunpowder, the mill was sold at a great sacrifice of money, and another one established on the site of the esplanade.†

\* Consultation Book, 5th December 1733. The net amount of customs was Rs. 80,546 *per annum*. The rent of the tobacco farm was reduced to Rs. 27,000 (ib. 20th April 1733, and October 1735).

† Consultation Book, 23rd January 1728; 23rd November 1733; 26th April 1734.

The next measure, and most important of all, considering the natural advantages which Bombay possesses, was the introduction of ship-building. So long ago as the year 1670 the Court of Directors had ordered that docks should be constructed, and had sent out one of the Pett family, famous for the ships which they built in the reign of Charles the Second. But it does not appear that much progress was made, as the Company's vessels were usually built at Surat, and we can only date from the period of which we are now treating the commencement of an art in which the builders of Bombay have deservedly obtained a high celebrity. In 1735 Mr. Dudley, the Master-Attendant, was sent to Surat that he might arrange with Dhunjeebhoy, the builder of that place, for the construction of a ship to be called the "Queen," and he then reported so favorably of Lowjee Nusserwanjee, a master-carpenter, that the President and Council invited him, through Mr. Braddyl, the temporary supervisor of English trade at Surat, to enter their service and superintend a building establishment which they proposed to form on their island. Having gained Dhunjeebhoy's reluctant consent to this arrangement, Lowjee repaired to Bombay with several other carpenters, and commenced operations on a small site within the limits of the present dockyard, where at that time were the common jail, the huts of native sailors, and the scarcely superior residences of marine officers. The following year, when the supply of timber failed, he was sent to open a trade with the Bheels and other wild tribes which inhabit the forests to the northward; and the dockyard being from that time provided with the best teak, became the place where all the Company's cruisers and numerous merchant vessels were built, as well as the resort for such ships of the Royal Navy as were in need of repair. For some years Lowjee remained only on trial, but was so well pleased with Bombay, that in 1742 he proposed to bring his family there from Surat, and Government approving highly of his industry and skill, advanced him ten thousand rupees that he might erect a handsome house for their reception. Such was the origin of a family which has since that time maintained a connection with the East India Company, honorable to both parties, and cemented by many and mutual obligations.\*

\* Letters from the Government of Bombay to Surât, dated 10th January and 27th March 1736. Letter from W. T. Money, Esq., Superintendent of Marine, to the Governor in Council, 26th September 1810. A Memorial of the Lowjee family.

But the heaviest outlay of money, and which, although essential to the very existence of the Government, was totally unproductive, was caused by the necessity of providing military defences both at sea and on land. The cost of protecting trade was increased in proportion as Angria's power increased, and fifty thousand pounds were annually expended in maintaining a fleet, which after all was insufficient to preserve the mercantile marine from its piratical foes. On shore the principal merchants became so alarmed, that they voluntarily opened their treasures, and in 1739 subscribed thirty thousand rupees towards the expense of constructing a ditch round the walls of the Fort, a sum which, according to the official document, "was as much as could have been expected, considering the low declined state of trade." As it appeared important to the Governor in Council that the work should be commenced forthwith, they agreed not to wait for the Court's permission, Mr. Geckie only recording his dissent on the ground that they had been strictly forbidden to incur any fresh expenses, and that if an enemy had really an intention of assailing them, the mischief would be done before the ditch could be completed. Such parsimonious views and arguments were always regarded with favour by the authorities at home, who censured the act of their local Government in the severest terms, although, as was subsequently shown, the wall and ditch alone deterred the Marathas from attempting an invasion. At the same time that this work was commenced, an order was again issued against the practice of building houses and planting trees "within the distance prescribed for the safety of all regular fortifications." The distance specified was four hundred yards, afterwards reduced to three hundred, and it was directed that all houses, trees, and bushes within that should be demolished and removed. The continued delay in the execution of such orders probably arose from the great expense of compensating owners of property, as it was found that even within a radius of a hundred yards from the town-wall, the houses and trees were valued at nearly thirty-seven thousand rupees.\*

A serious inconvenience in all pecuniary transactions was the want of a uniform currency. Although money had been coined for many years in Bombay, Company's rupees were only one of many varieties ; and as no two had the same proportion of alloy, the Na-

\* Diary of the Bombay Government, 1739 ; Order of Council, dated 5th February 1742. Macpherson's *European Commerce*, page 181.

tive money-changers had abundant opportunities of imposing upon the people. An order was therefore published, requiring that all persons who had more than ten foreign rupees should bring them to be re-coined at the Mint, or give notice to the Custom-master within three days that they intended to export them ; otherwise their money would be forfeited if discovered. Only the rupees of Surat and Bombay were to be considered a lawful tender. A bye-law against usury, or rather the exaction of a high rate of interest on small loans, was passed, confirmed by the Court of Directors, proclaimed in the Maratha and Portuguese languages, and, as such laws always are, forthwith evaded or set at defiance.\*

For the supply of the military establishment, topasses or Indo-Portuguese soldiers were chiefly looked to. As measures of retrenchment, the troop of horse was disbanded by an order of the Court, the pay of European soldiers reduced from twenty-three to twenty-one shillings *per mensem*, and all Native troops were required to take their turn in working at the Fort ditch. Under the dread of a Maratha invasion, it was also ordered that every gentleman and English civilian on the island should be provided with weapons and accoutrements at the public expense, and be encouraged to learn the use and exercise of small arms. A low estimate was taken both of European soldiers and Native sepoys. The former were said to be neither strong nor healthy, and very badly behaved,—“ a ragged crew, not fit for this or any other service ;” nor was there much hope that they would ever prove serviceable ; “ the climate,” wrote their employers, “ not agreeing with a European constitution so well as we could wish, added to the badness and scarcity of flesh provisions, which is chiefly their food, and not to be remedied whilst ~~the~~ the country in our neighbourhood remains under the Gentue Government.” The question whether a battalion of sepoys should be raised was one, the difficulties of which we cannot appreciate unless we forget for a moment the experience of the past, and place ourselves in the position of those to whom it was a novelty. It is now probably agreed that the Native Troops of British India are as competent to perform the duties entrusted to them, and on the whole inspire the people with as great confidence in their courage, prowess, and fidelity, as any body of men that the world has yet known.

\* Consultation Book, 17th December 1713, and 27th September 1734.

Although they may not be able to breast the sturdy masses of Europe ; although it would be rash to bring their slight and supple forms in conflict with the invincible solidity of Englishmen and the mighty torrent of enthusiasm in which Frenchmen roll their eagles to conquest ; yet for patient endurance under the fierce rays of a tropical sun, for attachment to the cause which he is paid to support, for a tractable spirit, and stoical indifference to death—all of which are essentials in men whose business it is to subjugate and coerce Asiatics—the sepoy has proved himself to be unrivalled. A hundred and thirty years ago, however, none of these qualities had been exhibited ; and a little reflection will satisfy us that the proposal to enlist a large number of sepoys must then have appeared startling, and the experiment hazardous. For this was not merely a question whether a body of mercenaries should be taken into pay. That would have involved little difficulty, and excited no anxiety. Topasses and blundaries had already performed excellent service, and to the utmost of their abilities had shown themselves good men and true, in fighting the Company's battles. Universal history afforded abundant examples to demonstrate that foreign troops could be hired with every prospect of security and success. Rome had conquered the world with the aid of her auxiliaries. Under Hannibal, mercenaries had destroyed at Cannæ the flower of Roman knighthood ; under William of Normandy, had conquered England. The cuirassiers of Germany and condottieri of Italy were long the maintainers of despotism ; Scotch and Irish regiments were the most prized by French marshals, and the Swiss were the best household troops of Europe ;—so that although from the ancient days of Greece a popular prejudice against mercenaries has existed, there is no doubt that they may be the very best support on which an arbitrary Government can rest. But there were special objections to the enlistment of Maratha and other Native sepoys. They belonged to races with which the English would ere long perhaps be at war ; their language, manners, religion, were not only distinct from those of the English, but their superstitious regarding caste were so inflammable, that a single spark might set them in a blaze ; they had not been used to the military system of Europe, and probably would not submit to its stringent discipline ; and lastly came the most important consideration of all,—their wives and children lived under the shadow of Native Powers, and remained as hos-

tages that their husbands and fathers should never resist the Chiefs who had natural claims upon their allegiance. On these grounds, it might not only be fairly concluded that the sepoy would be an unsafe protector; he might also be a treacherous friend and dangerous spy. For what arguments could be urged against these cogent ones for rejecting his services? What inducements could be expected so to counteract the influence of established custom, religion and family ties, as to make him a loyal soldier? The offer of seven rupees a month, and the prospect of twenty, were the only inducements that could be thought of; and these had been already met by Native States, who actually offered higher pay. No patriotism, no chivalrous sentiments, no lust of conquest were to kindle enthusiasm in sepoys, and secure their constancy. The only bond between them and their employers was to be the pittance of a soldier's pay. Can we be surprised that the further consideration of the proposal was deferred? It was admitted that on the few occasions when the services of Natives had been employed, they had been trustworthy and courageous; but it was thought that to raise a black battalion would be to create a monster which would soon devour the Government that had given it birth. Although one actually was raised a short time after this, it was now agreed not to incur the risk; and it should be placed on record that the objections against employing sepoys appeared insurmountable just twenty years before their military reputation was established on an eternal basis by the victory of Plassey. In the mean while topasses were considered the flower of the army—topasses many of whom had grown old in the service, some having served twenty, others thirty, a few even forty years; and whose pay was so trifling, that they were compelled to support their families by watering and taking care of palm-trees, in addition to their military duties. But as this class of men had shown great courage, particularly at the recent and memorable siege of Bassein, their pay was raised so as to be made equal with that of sepoys, and after a balance had been struck, the services of poor *feringees* were preferred to those of men who have since formed our glorious Native infantry.\*

\* Consultation Book, 27th September 1734; 16th April and July 1739; 28th February 1741. An account of the origin and first formation of our Native Army has yet to be written. In standard histories we pass at once from a militia formed of topasses, interspersed with a few Natives, to disciplined brigades of sepoys, as if there had been no interval when much time and trouble were



English authors of this period never, we believe, mention the settlements of India. How shall we account for the omission? In the ages preceding this, we find slight allusions which show that literary characters then knew their countrymen were exploring and establishing themselves in that land of fable. Butler had heard quaint stories of Guzerat; Dryden, of factories there and anticipated wealth. Evelyn and Pepys would occasionally visit the city to hear the quotations of India Stock, and see whether the Directors of the East India Company had imported any curiosities. Clarendon in his dignified paragraphs, and Burnet in his small talk, would occasionally mention some name which appears in the manuscript records of India. If we skip over the period of which we are now writing and alight on that which follows, we find civil and military annals adorned with the names of Anglo-Indian heroes, and the most eloquent orators making the senate and the bar echo with the laudation or vituperation of Anglo-Indian statesmen and soldiers. Then comes the age of Indian nabobs, when novelists bring uncles with yellow faces and fabulous wealth from the rifled East, to die of liver disease in England, and leave heroes and heroines rich and happy. But from 1708 to 1740 the few standard authors of the time never mention India, and even English history scarcely breaks this extraordinary silence. What is the reason? Were English minds so overcome with hebetude, that instead of watching the signs of the times, or taking interest in their countrymen's enterprises, they only vapoured about Greece and Rome, or the characters of an obscure antiquity? Thompson, at the very close of this period, composed 'Rule Britannia,' and English feelings were not dead; but the intellect of England was either too sluggish or too proud to regard the labours of plebeians in India, and utterly unconscious that they were quietly weaving the bonds which were to unite India with the British Empire.

Individuals who at this time composed the little European community of Bombay are surrounded by an obscurity for which it is not difficult to account. This era of the first Georges was not one of illustrious men, and has been well compared with that of the Antonines, when peace and happiness prevailed throughout the Roman Empire; but on that account there were no states-

employed in raising the germ of a sepoy army. Materials are at hand by which the gap may be filled up, and he who uses them will be only paying a well-deserved tribute to a distinguished service.

men or authors distinguished for nobility of feeling, originality of thought, or vigour of expression. The people of England were tranquil, prosperous, and selfish; indisposed both at home and abroad to attain celebrity by acts of enterprise or enthusiasm. This prosperity, torpidity, and lack of generous sentiment are especially to be observed in India. The age of discovery and adventure had passed away; the age of military exploits had not begun; so that the characters and actions of Anglo-Indians were for the most part flat and insignificant. Hawkins, Best, and Downton were almost forgotten; even the era of Aungier, Oxenden, and Child seemed as the days of the giants; and as compared with them, the Governors of this time felt themselves but ordinary persons; whilst on the other hand, Clive was still giving and receiving black eyes at Merchant Tailor's school, or spending his indomitable energy in clambering up the church tower, and playing tricks upon the tradespeople, of Market Drayton. In this middle age the highest ambition which the English of Bombay could entertain was to accumulate money and retire. The larger number stopped far short of that, contenting themselves with a life of idleness, sensuality, or reckless dissipation, which was usually terminated by disease and an unhonoured death.

At Bombay and the subordinate stations there were little more than sixty covenanted servants, about twenty free-merchants, twenty married ladies, from four to eight widows and unmarried ladies, and never more than seven or eight European children. The naval and military officers of the Company were not included amongst covenanted servants. The marine service included a Superintendent—and this office seems to have been first held by Charles Rigby, whose commission is dated the ninth of October 1739,—eleven Captains, seven First and seven Second Lieutenants. The military officers were a Captain, nine Lieutenants, and nineteen or twenty Ensigns, some of whom were at subordinate factories. In the list of free-merchants we find the name of Jeremiah Bounell, who had been in 1687 one of the principal factors at Surat; then, after leaving the service of the London Company and becoming a Member of Council under the English Company, had been engaged in violent disputes with Sir Nicholas Waite; then became an independent trader, and continued such until the fourteenth of March 1744, the date of his death. The great length of his residence in India may be conjectured when

it is thus seen that fifty-seven years after he had risen to a post of responsibility in the Company's service, he was still surviving at Surat.\*

\* The following List, dated September 1736, shows not only the salaries and appointments of the Company's servants, but also their number and length of residence. It will be observed that the salary of the Chief of Tellicherry had been reduced.

*"List of the Honorable Company's Covenant Servants at Bombay and Factorys subordinate, with the time of their arrival in India, at what Salaries, and likewise their present Salaries and Employments.*

At what Place.	Persons' Names and Employments.	Time of their Arrival in India.	At what Salary.	Present Salary.	Titles.
BOMBAY .....	The Honorable John Horne, Esq., President and Governor....	20 Sept. 1714	15 0	300 0	Treasurer.
	The W <sup>o</sup> . George Taylor, Esq., Accomptant and Bombay Custom-master .....	18 Nov. 1709	15 0	100 0	2nd in Council.
	Mr. George Percival, Warehouse-keeper ...	17 Dec. 1712	5 0	70 0	3rd do.
TELLICHERRY ..	Mr. Stephen Law, Chief	18 Nov. 1715	5 0	46 0	4th do.
SURAT .....	Mr. Jno. Lambton, Chief	17 Aug. 1731	40 0	100 0	5th do.
ANJENGO .....	Mr. Wm. Wake, Chief...	11 Sept. 1732	40 0	40 0	6th do.
BOMBAY .....	Mr. Charles Whitehill, Land Paymaster.....	18 Nov. 1715	5 0	50 0	7th do.
	Mr. Thos. Waters.....	19 Aug. 1733	40 0	40 0	8th do.
	Mr. Thos. Stonestreet, Marine Paymaster ...	9 Mar. 1721-2	5 0	40 0	9th do.
ANJENGO .....	Francis Strudwick .....	20 Dec. 1710	15 0	40 0	Senior Merchant
GOMBRON .....	James Salisbury, Warehouse-keeper .....	18 Nov. 1715	5 0	40 0	do.
	John Geckie, Agent.....	1 June 1721	15 0	150 0	do.
SURAT .....	James Hope, at present at Bombay.....	22 Sept. 1718	5 0	40 0	do.
BOMBAY .....	Thos. Pattle.....	18 May 1719	5 0	40 0	do.
TELLICHERRY ..	Hugh Howard, designed home .....	Jan. 1721-2	15 0	40 0	do.
SURAT .....	Thos. Bodshaw, Purser	.....	.....	.....	.....
TELLICHERRY ..	Marine .....	8 Mar. 1720-1	5 0	40 0	do.
	Wm. Teynson .....	9 — 1721-2	5 0	40 0	do.
	Nicholas Goodwin .....	.....	5 0	40 0	do.
BOMBAY .....	Jno. Morley, Registrar of the Mayor's Court, and Collector of the Revenue.....	25 Sept. 1725	15 0	40 0	do.
HUSSORAH .....	Nathaniel Whittwell, Resident.....	.....	5 0	40 0	do.
BOMBAY .....	Wm. Sedgewicke, Clerk of the Market and Mayor.....	.....	5 0	102 10	do.
	Geo. Dudley, General Storekeeper .....	1 Dec. 1728	15 0	40 0	do.
TELLICHERRY ..	James Verelst.....	7 Jan. 1726	5 0	40 0	do.
BOMBAY .....	Thos. Marsh, Mahim Custom-master .....	.....	5 0	40 0	do.
	Jno. Dacres, Secretary..	.....	5 0	40 0	do.
GOMBRON .....	St. Geo. Pack, Warehouse-keeper.....	14 April 1727	5 0	40 0	do.

The Company's covenanted and uncovenanted servants in Bombay were paid half-yearly, and about eighteen thousand rupees were then divided for salaries and other allowances amongst such

At what Place.	Persons' Names and Employments.	Time of their Arrival in India.	At what Salary.	Present Salary.	Titles.
BOMBAY .....	Hugh Bidwell, Senior..	20 Aug. 1730	15 0	40 0	Senior Merchant
	James Stuart, Sheriff and Coroner .....	.....	15 0	40 0	do.
GOMBROON .....	Walter Kay, Steward ..	.....	5 0	40 0	do.
	Edward Owen, Mint-master and Assistant to the President .....	20 Aug. 1730	5 0	30 0	Junior Merchant
	Robert Rawdon, Assistant to the Land Paymaster .....	16 Sept. 1732	15 0	30 0	do.
CAMBAY .....	Jno. Munro, Resident ..	20 Aug. 1730	5 0	30 0	do.
BOMBAY .....	Jno. Cleland, Portuguese Secretary, Overseer of the Oats, and Collector of the Pension ..	1 Oct. 1729	5 0	30 0	do.
ANJENGO .....	Richard Sanders, Secretary and Storekeeper.	16 Sept. 1732	5 0	30 0	do.
BOMBAY .....	George Scott, Assistant to General Marine Paymaster .....	20 Aug. 1730	5 0	30 0	do.
TELLICHERRY..	William West, Paymaster .....	.. ..	5 0	30 0	do.
	John Sewell, Deputy Accomptant and Assistant in the Bank ..	.....	5 0	70 0	do.
BOMBAY .....	Richard Lynch .....	.....	5 0	30 0	do.
SURAT .....	Wm. Lowther, designed to Bombay .....	19 July 1731	5 0	15 0	Factor.
BOMBAY .....	Samuel Price, Deputy Secretary .....	.....	5 0	30 0	do.
SURAT .....	Wm. Johnson, Secretary ..	9 June 1737	15 0	15 0	do.
GOMBROON .....	Henry Savage .....	11 Sept. 1732	5 0	15 0	do.
BOMBAY .....	Henry Bertie .....	16 ———	5 0	15 0	do.
ANJENGO .....	Thos. Lane .....	11 ———	5 0	15 0	do.
BUSSORAH .....	Thos. Dorrill, Assistant to Resident .....	.....	5 0	15 0	do.
	Charles Crommelin, do. to the Storekeeper ..	.....	5 0	15 0	do.
BOMBAY .....	Wm. Davis, Assay-master .....	27 Nov. 1737	15 0	95 0	do.
	James Henry Lamb, designed for Surat ..	5 Sept. 1738	15 0	15 0	do.
GOMBROON .....	Jno. Person .....	25 Sept. 1734	5 0	5 0	Writer.
BOMBAY .....	Geo. Sallier, Assistant to the Bombay Customs	26 Dec. 1734	5 0	5 0	do.
TELLICHERRY..	John Goodere, do. in the Office .....	.....	5 0	5 0	do.
	John Lemon Brandling, do. to the Accomptant ..	.....	5 0	5 0	do.
BOMBAY .....	Jno. Burchall, do. to the President .....	.....	5 0	5 0	do.
	Hugh Symons, do. to Secretary .....	.....	5 0	15 0	do.
	May Sclater, do. do .....	17 Aug. 1736	5 0	5 0	do.
TELLICHERRY..	Pay Willis, do. in the office .....	27 Nov. 1737	5 0	5 0	do.

as belonged to the land-services. The expense of the garrison for the same period was Rs. 9,070. The salaries of the President, Merchants, Factors, Writers, and Surgeons amounted to Rs. 5,700, and these forty Europeans, exclusive of the President, were also allowed Rs. 2,140 for diet, Rs. 252 for servants' wages, and Rs. 244 for the maintenance of their horses and draft bullocks. The President had special allowances for diet, servants' wages, and house-rent, the amount of which varied until the year 1739, when they were increased and fixed at ten thousand rupees per annum; but in 1741 were again altered, for a dispute then arising as to whether Governor Horno was entitled to an allowance for table linen, it was decided against him, and the Court ordered that he should only receive eight hundred rupees per mensem, to pay for diet, furniture, equipages, and all other incidental charges. The ordinary expenses of the hospital for the half-year were only Rs. 193. The payments on account of the Marine Establishment for the same time were Rs. 9,342.

These statements require a few explanatory remarks; and in the first place we may observe, that although the junior members of the service were frequently in pecuniary difficulties, and reduced even to distress, the senior members had various means of amassing money. Occasionally the latter received handsome presents from the Native Powers, and we find them one day dividing

At what Place.	Persons' Names and Employments.	Time of their Arrival in India.	At what Salary.	Present Salary.	Titles.
BOMBAY .....	Thos. Byfield, Assistant to the Accountant ...	.....	5 0	15 0	Writer.
	Hugh Bidwell, Jun., do. to the President .....	.....	5 0	5 0	do.
	Thos. Hodges, do. to the Secretary .....	9 June 1737	5 0	5 0	do.
GOMBROON .....	Danvers Graves, do. ....	.....	5 0	5 0	do.
BOMBAY .....	William Nicholls, Assistant to General Accountant .....	.....	...	...	.....
	Charlesant Crisp, do. do. ....	.....	...	...	.....
	Charles Manningham, do. to the Secretary .....	27 Nov. 1737	5 0	5 0	do.
	Alexander Douglass, do. to the Accountant .....	29 April 1738	5 0	5 0	do.
	Jno. Neilson .....	7 Mar. 1732-3	36 0	36 0	Surgeon.
	Michael Weston .....	5 May 1738	36 0	36 0	do.

The Marshall's salary was 28 rupees 3 quarters and 75 raes *per mensem*, and the Coroner's 12 rupees *per mensem*.

It will be observed that the Governor's title in the above list is Treasurer. This office he holds to the present day. The Civilian who presides over the Treasury is styled Sub-Treasurer, and required to furnish his lordship every day with a statement of his accounts.

amongst themselves fifty large chests of Shiraz wine which men in office had sent them from Persia. The President and Council had opportunities of enriching themselves in trade, which none others possessed, as Native merchants were anxious to gain their favour by offering them easy bargains; and such as were unscrupulous, could use the Company's cruisers not only to protect their ships, but also to carry their merchandise. We find, therefore, that although the President's salary was only £300 per annum, his remittances to England on his private account amounted occasionally to six or seven thousand pounds. President Cowan in particular seems to have been most fortunate or most unscrupulous. His establishment was expensive; he always drove four horses; and when he left the country, eleven of his horses were offered for sale. Add to this, that after his decease his heirs preferred legal claims upon the Honorable Company for sums which, they maintained, were still due to them, although their portions had been considerable; and it is clear that he must have had abundant opportunities of accumulating a handsome fortune.

That the Governorship of Bombay must have been a highly lucrative appointment is also clear from the fact, that even the Chiefship of the insignificant Factory at Anjengo was considered worth between two and three thousand pounds *per annum*. The salaries, however, of the Chief and Factors at subordinate stations were still smaller than those at Bombay. At Surat the Chief received £100 per annum; the Junior Merchant £30, with £12-10 for reading Divine service; and the Surgeon £54. At Tellicherry the Chief had £70 or Rs. 560 per annum, the Senior Merchant £40 or Rs. 320, the Junior Merchant £30 or Rs. 240, the Factor £15 or Rs. 120, and the Writer £5, with £18 added for reading Divine service, or Rs. 184 in all.

—What is stated above regarding the straitened circumstance of junior servants of the Company is proved by a petition which they drew up in August 1739, after the public table had been discontinued and an allowance of thirty rupees per mensem had in consequence been made to them for diet. We particularly invite attention to this curious document, as it illustrates the manners of the day. It will be observed that the petitioners, although it was their object to make their necessary expenses appear as large as possible, did not include butchers' meat in their ordinary bill of fare; but that exactly one-half of the allowance made to them by Government was expended in wine or punch; that potatoes were not to be had; that a young civilian's bread-bill amounted to two rupees and one anna, and his milk-bill to twelve

annas ; that he did not even desire more than two servants, one of whom was a cook, and that eight rupees were all that he required for servants' wages ; that a cook's wages were four rupees, a servant of all work received the same ; and that water for bathing, drinking, and other uses, only cost half a rupee.

*“ To the Honourable Stephen Law, Esq., President and Governor &c. and Council of Bombay.*

“ The humble Petition of the Honourable Company's Covenanted Servants thereon resident,

“ SHERWETH,—That whereas the dearness of all manner of provisions has for some years past made it impossible for your petitioners to subsist on their allowance of thirty rupees per mensem, settled at a time when everything was much cheaper than at present ; this increase so long ago as Governor Cowan's time influenced him and his Council to represent the case to the Honourable the Court of Directors (per ship ‘ Prince William ’), being, as your petitioners presume, thoroughly satisfied that those who were not so fortunate as to have friends in England to make their remittances, must inevitably involve themselves in debt. And as no addition has been yet made, your petitioners find themselves now obliged to apply to your Honour and Co. The prices having been ever since that time greatly augmented by the Marattas dispossessing the Portuguese of Salsett and other their northern territories, from whence this island was usually supplied with the greatest part of the necessaries of life. But the truth of this representation is best demonstrated by the calculate hereto annexed, and which your petitioners believe will be esteemed by your Honour and Co. no more than a bare subsistence.

“ Your petitioners therefore most humbly pray such addition to their present allowance of diet-money as to your Honour and Co. shall seem meet.

“ And your petitioners shall ever pray, &c.

“ A CALCULATE OF NECESSARY MONTHLY EXPENSES.

	Qrs.	Pce.		Rs.	Qs.	R.
One fowl per diem.....at	1	6 each....		9	3	0
One chicken, or fish and rice.....	14	.....		5	1	0
Flower, pepper, mustard, salt, &c.....				0	2	0
Greens.....				0	3	0
Three rolls per diem.....	2	each....		2	1	0
Wine or punch ditto.....	2	.....		15	0	0

	Rs.	Qrs.	R.
Ghee.....	0	3	0
Oil and candles.....	4	0	0
Wood, 1,200 billets.....R. 2    2 per mill....	3	0	0
Tea, half catty.....	1	2	0
Sugar or sugar-candy.....	2	2	0
Milk.....	0	3	0
Butter, 2 pounds .....at R. 1 per pound.....	2	0	0
Water-bearer.....	0	2	0
Rupees 48    2    0			

"N. B.—Shaving, powdering, washing, table-linen, &c. necessities, with a cook and a servant at 4 rupees per month each, are not included."\*

Under ordinary circumstances the maximum price given for a horse was four hundred rupees. When the President left Bombay he only asked three hundred and fifty for each of his four greys, and eight hundred rupees for his coach. The Government allowed him six horses for his "coach and chaise," and one saddle-horse; and four carriage-horses were allowed for the rest of the covenanted servants and military officers. There do not appear to have been horses at any of the subordinate factories, with the exception of Surat. The factors of Tellicherry had indeed a pair for some time, but as there was no one there who understood their management, and the charge for maintaining them was too high, their owners sent them down the coast to be sold. Being, however, returned as unsaleable, they were disposed of at public outcry for eighty-seven rupees, and instead of them the factors

\* As it is always interesting, and sometimes useful, to know the prices of ~~things~~ in former times, we subjoin the following tariff of liquors imposed by the factors at Tellicherry in September 1846. (Five fanams make one rupee, and twenty tars one fanam.)

	Rs.	Fan.	Tar.
A bowl of punch containing three pints.....	0	2	8
A sneaker of ditto.....	0	1	4
A bottle of Batavia arrack.....	0	2	0
A ditto of Goa (double distilled).....	0	1	0
A ditto of Calicut (ditto).....	0	1	0
A ditto of country (ditto).....	0	0	8
A ditto of port wine.....	1	2	8
A ditto of red-cape.....	1	0	0
A ditto of white ditto.....	0	4	0
A ditto of brandy.....	1	0	0
A ditto of strong beer.....	0	3	0
A ditto of small ditto.....	0	2	0



made use of what they styled "a cow-coach." Glass was rarely or never used, and when the factors of Surat wished to exclude the hot winds, the only means of doing so, and at the same time enjoying the light of day, was to import ten thousand oyster shells from Bombay.\*

The ethics of society were decidedly an improvement on the preceding century; but we shall see that such purity as there was did not adorn the highest offices, and that, on the contrary, the

\* Consultation Book, January 1727; 20th and 27th September, and 24th October 1734; 10th March 1744. Letter from Surat to Bombay, dated 28th July 1739; Tellicherry Diary, October 1743.

The following is an extract from a Minute of Consultation dated 28th February 1741. After showing the expenses of Government under the heads of Garrison Charges, Diet-money, House Rent, and Servants' Wages, the Board proceed to consider "Stable Charges":—

"Besides the necessary port required for the President, which our Honourable Masters have hitherto acquiesced with, and that their servants and others may be furnished with a conveyance for the benefit of their health, and at leisure time to go to the different parts of the island; IT IS AGREED to settle the number of cattle and oxen to be kept as follows:—

- 6 Horses for the President's coach and chaise, of which one may happen to be lame, and less cannot be sufficient.
- 1 Saddle-horse for the President.
- 4 Chaise-horses for the use of the covenant servants and military officers attending the out-posts.
- 1 Horse for the gunner and bombardier, who are often obliged to visit the fortifications distant from the town, and daily repair to see the exercising and training the people near the Breach.
- 3 For common service, and to carry the Ensigns &c. who are monthly relieved at Sion, as well as answer other calls.

#### Horses 15

"Two pairs of oxen for a coach and chaise are esteemed necessary, as well for the use of the inhabitants and to accommodate strangers and foreigners who at times are on the place. On enquiring into the number of oxen now kept, we find in fact only four in use, though six appears charged in the Moody's account as receiving provisions. From the information we have of the additional it is found to stand thus:—The Roman Bishop some time since obtained an indulgence for two beasts designed for his own coach, to be maintained at our Honourable Masters' charge, but afterwards they being laid aside, an equivalent in money has been paid him by the Moody, though incerted in the account in the manner it now does. The Board indeed concur in opinion that the revenue of his Bishoprick is very small, and our Honourable Masters themselves were pleased to annex thereto in the time of his predecessor an appointment of forty rupees per mensem, and the sum now allowed being no considerable amount, sufficient only to furnish him palanqueen coolies; IT IS AGREED to continue the same, but the present method being in its nature extremely irregular, the Land Pay-master must, in future, see to the payment, and that it be carried to the head of Charges General, which will be more satisfactory to our Honourable Masters, and they may then give such orders as they shall think proper."

drogs were uppermost. Naval and military officers, who were at this time held in very little esteem, were, if we may judge from the silence regarding them, on the whole, quiet and subordinate. In 1732, however, a manifestation of discontent amongst the officers of the Marine Service was treated as mutiny; and seven lieutenants, named Andrew Palmroots, Berriman, Woods, Roger Woodburn, Joseph Gunning, Robert Castles, and Henry Eaton—all in command of grabs or galleys—who had committed acts of insubordination, and addressed a seditious letter to Government, were dismissed. Palmroots was the first to make his submission and crave forgiveness, which was granted after he had been left a sufficient time to suffer from anxiety and loss of pay. One by one the other mutineers expressed their contrition, and all were finally reinstated. As regards the military, the transfer of a dissolute vagabond named Meisters to their service is a striking instance to prove how cheap they were held, and to confirm Lord Clive's assertion that they were chiefly the "refuse of gaols." This person, although without a diploma or any proof that he had passed an examination in surgery, had been appointed surgeon of the Factory at Surat, on his own declaration of competency. In a very short time he manifested a strong addiction to liquor, and so quarrelsome was his disposition, that he threw the Factory into a commotion, and instead of doing the work of healing, only showed that he himself was afflicted with that vile disease, an unbridled tongue.\* Hereviled all—high and low, friends and enemies,—refused to obey the Chief's orders, and utterly neglected his patients; in fact, a salary was thrown away upon him, as his services were worse than useless. Such a man, who would have disgraced any other profession, was thought good enough to be a military officer in India; so the Chief and Council, after forwarding to Government their representation of his behaviour, conclude with this recommendation:—"Having by excessive drinking disqualified himself for the station he bears, and considering that by his drunkenness he may engage us in disputes with this Government, which very lately had like to have been the case, we request your Honour and Council will remove

\* Although Tantalus, after banquetting with the gods, gave the rein to his tongue in a different way from Meisters, the remark of Euripides seemed so applicable to the latter at the common table of the Factory, that we made use of it in the text.

κοινῇ τραπέζῃς ἀξίωμ' ἔχων ἴσον,  
ἀκόλαστον ἔσχε γλῶσσαν, αἰσχίστην νόσον.

—Orestes, 9 and 10!

him, and if you see fitting, rather give him an employ in the military as most suitable for him; but in this place it is not fit that he should remain." The chief complaint against the youngest members of the civil service was only the oft-repeated one of idleness. They were constantly trying to slip the yoke of a public office from off their necks, and either neglected their business altogether, or transacted it at their private apartments. It became necessary, therefore, for Government to interfere, and insist upon an attendance at office from eight o'clock to twelve in the forenoon, and three to five in the afternoon; sufficient time for dinner and a *sie ta* in the middle of the day being thus allowed them. The penalties for neglecting the observance of this regulation were,—for the first offence, a severe reprimand from the President and Council; for the second, a fine of one month's diet; and for the third, suspension from the public service. Whilst alluding to the hours of business we may remark that the strict observance of the Lord's Day as a holiday—for which Mr. Cobbe had stood up so stoutly—was now fallen into disuse, and official matters occupied the members of Government as much then as other days of the week. Not only were consultations held on urgent affairs, but accounts were made up and audited, notifications of sales published, bills of exchange given and accepted, and letters on matters of ordinary routine despatched or answered.\*

In the year 1728 dissensions began to arise amongst the heads of Government, and were eventually the means of eliciting facts which showed that the characters of all involved were more or less compromised. Mr. Waters, whom we have seen acting as lay-chaplain, having become in due course Custom-master at Bombay, and afterwards been appointed Chief of the subordinate Factory at Gombroon, had established himself in trade at the latter place, and increased his business to such an extent, that Mr. John Lambton, Secretary to Government and Eighth Member of Council, became his private agent at Bombay. So lucrative was this situation, that Lambton preferred retaining it, rather than accept the Chiefship of Anjengo, which, as we have already seen, was worth between two and three thousand pounds *per annum*. This preference of a private to a public appointment appeared to his associates in the Government a slight cast upon their Honourable Masters' service, and he was charged before their Board with

\* Regulations regarding office-hours are in the Consultation Book, 8th March and 4th October 1734; also 26th November 1732; January 1733; and the Surat Diary, 10th October 1737.

betraying his trust. Instead of simply acting upon the defensive, he retorted by bringing charges against President Cowan and Henry Lowther, Chief of Surat, with whom he had lived on terms of the strictest intimacy ; avowing that the President was promoting his private interests by committing frauds on the Company, and that he was in collusion with Lowther, whom he had appointed Chief of Surat for a pecuniary consideration. Lambton deposed that when Nowrojee, the Company's broker, had gone to England and was visiting Lowther in Yorkshire, the latter assured him that he had been promised the appointment at Surat ; and further maintained that it was known in London to have been a matter of sale and purchase. The two gentlemen against whom these charges were brought put in a formal defence, which was pronounced satisfactory by the rest of the Board, who then took up Lambton's case, not in the impartial spirit of judges, but as advocates for the prosecution, meanly seizing and opening a private letter addressed to him by Waters, and bringing against him an additional charge of having revealed the secrets of Council. To prevent such disclosures for the future, they required that all the Members and Secretary should take an oath of secrecy.

The commission of a heinous crime by a person high in the service was the means of bringing forward another witness against Lambton. Mr. George Banister, a Senior Factor, was charged with a felonious assault upon Susannah Midford, a little girl between nine and ten years of age ; and after his victim had been examined in the presence of a Justice of the Peace, it was proved that he had made an attempt, although he had not committed the capital offence. Conscious of guilt, he fled, and was dismissed the service ; upon which his unhappy wife, in hopes of conciliating the favour of Government to her husband and herself, or, as she expressed it, of receiving "such marks of pity to a distressed family as to their Honours might seem expedient," informed them that she was willing to disclose certain dishonest practices which had come to her knowledge. Being invited to explain her meaning, she declared that Harris, a writer in the Secretary's office, had been in the habit of surreptitiously conveying to Lambton, after his disgrace, copies of the Minutes of Council ; that Lambton intended to lay such representations before the Court of Directors as would lead to the recall of Cowan and Lowther, and his own establishment in a more honourable position than he had before held ; and that, committing an unheard-of innovation, he held the Press *in terrorem* over the Government of Bombay, for he threatened that if

the Court would not hear him, he would make his complaints known by means of that dreaded agent to the world, and bring to light such vile and inexcusable practices of the Company's servants as would destroy the credit of, and ultimately ruin the Company itself. Finally the lady, falling into a strange bathos, deposed that "Mr. Lambton desired no better pleas against them, and should certainly bring some of them to the gallows ; as to Mr. Lowther in particular, he hoped to find a proper time and place to take his private satisfaction of him by caning him." Harris being examined, confessed his guilt, and was dismissed the service, but restored in the following September. An order also was issued for the seizure of Lambton's papers, but having received notice of this intention from Harris, he had conveyed them away. The next step was to place him in confinement, and issue a proclamation warning all persons against harbouring the required documents, which were then traced to a Mr. John Hope, who instantly destroyed the greater part, but attempted to make his peace with Government by informing them of their contents. To their great mortification the President and Council thus discovered that Mr. Lambton had been carrying on a correspondence "with a certain gentleman in England," and had disclosed the state of the Company's affairs. As they dreaded nothing so much as publicity, their anxiety and malice were aroused, and they resolved to suspend the culprit from the service. Discovering that he had little hope of obtaining justice in Bombay, he hastened to England, and there made a successful appeal to the Court of Directors.

The crime of the infamous Banister had thus led to some curious revelations and a series of quarrels, which disturbed the Government for years. If we attach weight to the decisions of the Court of Directors on this and subsequent occasions, we must be satisfied that in these disputes there was not an honest man either on the side of the prosecution or defence. Waters was shown by Sir William Henry Draper, his successor in the Factory at Gombroon, to have charged the Company four thousand rupees for a house, when he had only given three thousand for it ; to have transferred to them some useless plate of his own, and given them a false account of its weight, thus appropriating to himself Rs. 16,808 more than he ought to have claimed ; and to have committed other acts of embezzlement and fraud. His friend Lambton was indeed white-washed this time, and in 1731 returned to occupy the post which would have been his if he had never been dismissed, being nominated Sixth Member of

Council, Storekeeper-General, and Receiver of the Rents and Revenues; but he was finally dismissed from the service with disgrace. So also were President Cowan and Lowther, the latter of whom was, as we shall see, a systematic rogue.\*

Governor Cowan had done more than sufficient to excite the displeasure of his Honourable Masters in England, but the cause which they assigned for his deposition was insignificant as compared with his punishment. His last offence was the violation, from mercenary motives, of a standing order which the Company had originally designed as an obstacle to the Ostenders and their other rivals, and the letter of which prohibited their servants from engaging in political and commercial transactions of all kinds with such nations as had not been accustomed to trade at the English settlements. Clear as was this prohibition, it did not deter the President from permitting the owners of the "Europo," a Portuguese ship which had entered the harbour, from disposing of their cargo in Bombay, particularly as inducements, too strong for his virtue to resist, were offered. But it should be explained that this permission was given with the full consent of his Council, and not merely on his own authority. Unfortunately for the Government, as it was well known that some of their consultations would not bear the light of day, so certain persons were resolved that they should not always remain in darkness. We have already seen Mr. Lambton communicating their secrets to an influential friend in England, and now, as soon as sufficient time after the "Europo's" arrival had elapsed, a letter from an unknown writer was handed about London by interested parties, in which it was stated that Cowan had merely consulted his own advantage in violating the laws, as his money was invested in the ship. An explanation being demanded of him by the Court of Directors, the President denied that he had any special interest in the "Europo," but admitted that the commander had liberally presented him with six hams and eight dozens of wine from France and Oporto, and had paid him the usual perquisite of one per cent. on some silver which he had sent to be converted into rupees at the Company's Mint. But, continued the President, the Company's standing order does not apply to this case, as the King of Portugal had sent ships to trade in India for centuries. Moreover, although it was true

\* Consultation Book, 16th and 22nd February, March and April 1728; 20th August 1731; and August 1735.

that the freedom of the port had been granted to the " *Europa*," yet her cargo had been disposed of to Natives only, and no servants of Government had been allowed to have any dealings with her. The books of the President, as well as of the ship's consignees, were examined, but no facts of importance elicited. Still the Court were determined to make an example of Governor Cowan, and ordered that he should be dismissed their service, but treated with respect so long as he remained in Bombay. After a formal interchange of compliments with his successor and the Council, he sailed for England.

John Horne assumed the office of President on the twenty-second of September 1734, and was himself succeeded in January 1740 by Stephen Law, Chief of Tellicherry. The last days of Horne's residence on the island were embittered by a dispute with his successor and the Council, who called upon him to account for a deficiency they had discovered in the Treasury, and on his refusal threatened to place him in confinement.\*

One more example will suffice to show how difficult it was at this time for justice to obtain a fair field without favour, and also how anxious the Government were upon occasions to have their acts buried in oblivion. Henry Lowther, whose restless and unscrupulous mind made him the most conspicuous man of his generation in Bombay and Surat, owed a Native named Lolla Sesunkur forty thousand rupees, for which he had given his bond; but when pressed for the money, he pretended to assign reasons why he should refuse to pay. After the matter had been warmly discussed, he proposed that it should be referred to an arbitration of seven persons, three of whom should be nominated by himself, and three by his creditor, the six appointing a seventh to be their chairman and deliver their award. Although this proposal might appear to us fair enough, Lolla Sesunkur believed that Lowther, whose influence was great at Surat, would use it to secure a favourable verdict from the arbiters. So he preferred the ordinary course of litigation, and brought an action in the Mayor's Court of Bombay, appointing a Mr. Cleland to act as his attorney. Lowther, instead of putting in a defence, contented himself with denying the Court's jurisdiction, as the prosecutor was a subject of the Moghul Empire; upon which the attorney becomes indignant, insinuates suspicions of defendant's honesty, and exposes his artifice in attempting to have the

\* Consultation Book, 22nd September, and December 1734 ; 21st January 1735 ; January and August 1740.

casetried at Surat. The Chief of course felt insulted, and complained to Government that not only had he himself been reviled, but that Cleland had aimed a side blow at their Honours, and dared to hint the existence of mal-practices amongst the members of Government. This, if not the most candid, was certainly the most ingenious defence he could have thought of. Immediately the sympathies of power were shown to be with him, and the attorney was called upon for an apology, which he refused, maintaining that he had not exceeded the duties of an advocate, and if the defendant had been tried in Westminster Hall, he would have been handled far more roughly. Cleland, in truth, manifested a stedfastness of purpose and independence of spirit for which he deserves the highest credit, and on these accounts his name should be handed down to posterity. But in those days the question was how a bad Government could bend or break such a sturdy assertor of the right. Matters began to wear an ugly look, and it was felt that if the Court of Directors should read these proceedings, they would of course suspect that there was a foul under-current at Bombay which was concealed from them. So Governor Horne suggests that the affair should be brought to an abrupt termination by quashing all the proceedings, erasing from the Records all that had been written, and sending the troublesome attorney to speculate in pepper and cloth at a subordinate factory. Happily, this pacific proposition of his Honour found one determined opponent ; otherwise we should have known nothing of Mr. Lowther's debt and evasions, of the suspicions which people entertained of the Government's purity, or of the way in which records could be officially tampered with, and an obnoxious critic silenced. Mr. Braddyl, who fifteen years before had worsted Mr. Cobbe, was now the champion of candour and truth ; but we are tempted to ask, how many times may Government have found itself as awkwardly situated when there was no Mr. Braddyl to enter an indignant protest against its furtive measures ? how many times may an official conspiracy have shrouded the acts of a President and Council in eternal night ? In this case the opposition triumphed, the papers were ordered to be registered, and Cleland, instead of being sent into honourable exile, was the same year appointed Secretary to Government for Portuguese affairs.\*

\* Consultation Book, January 1734-5.



## ART. IV.—THE REWA KANTA.

1. *Miscellaneous Information connected with the Petty States in the Rewa Kanta in Guzerat.* Bombay Government Records, No. XXIII. New Series.
2. *Book of Treaties.* “Rewa Kanta.”

THE name we have placed at the head of this article will probably convey either no idea at all, or at best a vague one to the minds of general readers. What is the Rewa Kanta?—where is it? are questions which our readers will now involuntarily put to themselves for the first time. Even when it is known to be a part of Guzerat, their interest will be hardly awakened; for perhaps all that they have heard of that great, populous, and wealthy, though long-neglected province, merely relates to its heat, fever, and discomfort. Our Governors, Commanders-in-Chief, and Bishops, affect it not, and visit it as seldom as possible; and of the crores of rupees it has poured into the Treasury, little has ever been returned to its bosom. A debt of gratitude is still due to it, and has to be paid in the construction of public works for its convenience, in its embellishment, and the employment of its natural wealth. While far-stretching highways intersect the bare and barren uplands of the Deccan; while the ghauts are traversed by commodious passes, and piers and bunders accommodate the traffic of the coast to the southward of Bombay, the vast commerce that clogs the banks of the Guzerat creeks has still to struggle through knee-deep mud, to the vessels intended for its transport. Not a jetty has yet been constructed in any one of its ports, nor are there four miles of macadamised road throughout its magnificent territory. Such being the condition of the province at large, it is not wonderful that its more remote sections should be almost utterly unknown, and that such words as Rewa Kanta and Myhie Kanta should be nearly as strange to the ear as the names of the dim islets of Polynesia.

We nevertheless propose to bring before our readers the history of British connection with the Rewa Kanta. The traveller who has visited Baroda cannot but have remarked an isolated square-looking mountain that rises abruptly about twenty-five miles to the

eastward of that city. It is a conspicuous feature of the landscape, from its sudden contrast with the level plain in which it stands; and when seen in the clear atmosphere after the first burst of the monsoon, it presents that deep purple tint which so strikes the traveller when he gazes with infinite delight on those glorious mountains between Milan and Venice, representations of which are so common in the backgrounds of Titian's pictures. This mountain, Pawaghur, marks nearly the centre of the Rewa Kanta district, which stretches about seventy-five miles north, "a little beyond the town of Kudana on the Upper Myhic, and the same distance south to the Taptee. The district is therefore about a hundred and fifty miles in length, and varies from fifty to eighty miles in breadth.

The river known in maps by the name of the Nurbudda is more generally called Rewa by the natives of Guzerat, and the Rewa Kanta means simply the country on its banks. It is evident that this name accords little with the extent of country now included in the political division so called; but the nucleus out of which that division has grown to its present dimensions originally consisted of a few villages and small districts between Baroda and the Nurbudda.

We propose at some future day to give an account of the Gaekwar's State, and its relations with the British Government. We shall only allude to it here so far as to say, that early in the present century, the Bombay Government having acquired, as a "material guarantee" in Guzerat, territory ceded by the Gaekwar for the payment of a subsidiary force, which alone upheld his lately-founded but already tottering throne, became keenly alive to the disorders that prevailed throughout the large part of that Chief's dominions which are called his tributary States.

True to the national traditions, each independent Mahratta power which had arisen out of the wreck of the Moghul Empire, had been in the habit of assembling its forces early at the time of the Jowaree harvest (the time when kings go forth to battle), to take countries (Moolukgerree) wherever feeble neighbours or States, rent by internal dissensions, were to be found. Probably these marauding expeditions were a little more tolerable than those of the Pindarees. A certain degree of form and order was gradually introduced into them, and as the Gaekwar power in Guzerat became a fact accomplished, they were no longer annual, but only biennial, triennial, and even quadrennial nuisances; directed exclusively against those Chiefs who had maintained for centuries of Mahomedan ascendancy a

precarious independence, and against those communities of warlike tribes which, from the strength of their fastnesses and their own persevering turbulence, had never been brought under the same regimen as their more industrious and peaceful fellow-subjects.

Still, though truces of four years between the Gaekwar and his tributaries were a great improvement on the previous system, it was felt to be a serious obstacle to the prosperity and tranquillity of the country, that it should be disturbed even so often by the disorderly operations of an undisciplined force, commanded by unscrupulous and grasping officers. In the year 1812, therefore, the Bombay Government prevailed on the Gaekwar to accept a settlement with his tributaries for ten years; and at the close of that period his demands were fixed in perpetuity. The collection of the tribute was undertaken by the British Government, and the Moolukgeeree expeditions ceased for ever.

A. D. 1820 His Highness Syajee Rao Gaekwar transmitted to the Honorable Mr. Elphinstone, Governor of Bombay, the following comprehensive Memorandum :—

“ With a view to the tranquillity of the country, and to the peaceable realisation of His Highness the Gaekwar’s tribute from Kattyawar and Myhie Kanta, it is agreed that His Highness Syajee Rao Gaekwar shall send no troops into the lands of the Zumeendars in either of those tracts, without the consent of the British Government, and shall make no demand on any Zumeendar or other person of those provinces, except through the medium of the British Government.

“ The British Government engages to procure payment of the Gaekwar’s tribute free of expense to His Highness, agreeably to the principles of the settlement made with the Zumeendars of Kattyawar and Myhie Kanta respectively, in the year 1807-1808, and in 1811-1812 (answering to Sumvut 1864 and 1868).

“ If any great expense be produced by the refractory conduct of the Zumeendars, the British Government shall be at liberty to levy that amount, and no more, from the Zumeendar resisting. April 3, 1820.”

Such parts of the Rewa Kanta as were included in the old Myhie Kanta Moolukgeeree were transferred of course to British management under this instrument. Loonawarra, however, was also a tributary of Sindia, and had with Soonthe been placed under British protection from the tenth of August 1819.

The Rewa Kanta, as at present constituted, includes six large

and fifty-two smaller States. The tribute collected amounts to Rupees 200,149 per annum, varying in proportions from Rupees 78,352 paid by Rajppeepla, to Rupees 25 paid by Nahara.

*Rajppeepla.*—Commencing at the southernmost border of the Rewa Kanta, we find that Rajppeepla is that wild and mountainous tract eastward of the Broach and Surat Purgunnas, between the Taptee and Nurbudda rivers. It is about ninety miles in length by fifty in breadth, and chiefly inhabited by Bheels. The reigning family is said to be descended from a Gohil Rajpoot who resided in the island of Perin, in the Gulf of Cambay, and who married the daughter and only child of the then Chief of Rajppeepla, to whose sovereignty he succeeded. The family maintained its independence during many generations, and the country was so strong and inaccessible, that one of the Mahomedan kings of Guzerat sought an asylum in it when driven from his throne by the victorious forces of Akbar. That great emperor, however, exacted an annual tribute of Rupees 35,556 from the State. On the decline of the Empire the payment became of course irregular. When the Mahrattas, however, appeared in Guzerat, they speedily exacted all, and more than all that had been paid to the Moghul.

*Barrea Jungle.*—From the northern bank of the Nurbudda begins that extensive tract of forest land which, stretching about eighty miles north, intervenes between the populous and well-cultivated plains of Guzerat and the uplands of Malwa, and was known of old to travellers by the ill-omened name of the Barrea Jungle, through which, for some months in the year, none can pass with impunity in consequence of its fatal malaria. The soil is rich; the country generally level, though intersected by ranges of low hills of a primitive formation; the vegetation exuberant; the population scanty and wild. This tract of forest land is possessed by two families of Chohan Rajpoots, who are descended from a common ancestor—a Rajpoot adventurer—who, driven from his original seat in Northern India by the great Mahomedan invader Shabudin, bent his steps towards Guzerat about A. D. 1244, and suddenly fell upon the aboriginal Chief who occupied Champaneer, drove him out, and he and his descendants occupied his place for about two hundred and forty years.

*Deoghur Barrea and Oodeypoor.*—A. D. 1484 the reigning Mahomedan king of Guzerat besieged and took Champaneer and its citadel, the hill-fortress of Pawaghur. In the same year, and on the same day, it is said that one of his Generals obtained possession of the hill-fortress of Joonaghur in Kattyawar. The

fortunate conqueror was therefore and thenceforward called Mahmood Beghura, or Mahmood of the two castles. The dispossessed family fled into the forest, and formed the two principalities of Chota Oodeypoor, sometimes called Mohun, and Deoghur Barrea. The former of these States became afterwards a tributary of the Gaekwar, while the latter, though frequently invaded and harried, never acknowledged a master until the British appeared. When the war with Sindia broke out, and a force under Colonel Murray in 1803 occupied his Guzerat possessions, the Chief of Barrea freely and zealously aided the British commander by keeping open his communications and furnishing supplies. A body of Barrea Bheels was subsidised and attached to the force during the campaign. A second time, in 1817, the Barrea Chief co-operated with a British force under Sir William Keir; and in requital, when (the next year) the friendly Raja died, and the State fell into disorder, the British Government came to its assistance, once and again, but especially in the year 1824, when the Chief of Lunjellee, whose ancestors had owned a large part of the Barrea territory, suddenly rose in arms to recover the inheritance of his father. This Chief (who was also known by the name of the Junglee Raja, and who excited a mysterious interest from a freak of nature which had affixed to him a caudal appendage, and thereby conferred on him a supposed affinity with the monkey god of the forests,) might very probably have effected a revolution in Barrea, had not Captain Macdonald, an assistant of General Ochterlony, stepped in, nipped his projects in the bud, and sent the pretender bootless back to the solitudes of his native forest. On this occasion the Barrea State, for the first time, became a tributary, and contracted to pay the British Government twelve thousand rupees per annum for its protection. But the Court of Directors expressed unwillingness to receive any tribute from it, and consented at last to the arrangement only on the understanding that the money should be expended for the benefit and protection of the country from which it was raised.

North of the Barrea territory is the small State of Soonthe, a tributary of Sindia, and belonging to a branch of the Dhar family in Malwa. Together with its dependency, Kudana, it forms the northernmost portion of the Rewa Kanta. West of Soonthe, and occupying both banks of the river Myhie, is the principality of Loonawara, the Chief of which is a Solunki Rajpoot, descended from the sovereigns of Annulwara Puttun. This State was first

established A. D. 1150, and its capital was then at Veerpoor, on the west of the Myhie. About A. D. 1484, however, the family was driven across that river, and settled at Loonawara, which they fortified, and thence carried on with their Mahomedan rivals a war which is not yet quite terminated.

Both the Mahratta powers of Sindia and the Gaekwar laid Loonawara under tribute; but the State was placed under the protection of the British Government, together with Soonthe, in A. D. 1819, at which period Sir John Malcolm, who had charge of Central India, found Loonawara brought to the brink of ruin by internal dissension. Two brothers had taken arms against each other. The younger was in possession at the moment, and according to the rigid but most necessary principle on which the British Government then acted, he was confirmed in possession. The Chief *de jure* complained bitterly:—"The struggle had only just begun—it was by mere accident that he was *not*, and his younger brother *was*, in possession of the palace. Let the British Government stand aside for a short time, and the Chief by right should also be the Chief by might and by possession." But it could not be. "If we swerve," said Sir John, "from the principle we have laid down as our foundation, there can be no security for any one; if we question the rights of him who has been one month in possession, it would be absurd not to do the same with an incumbent of one year's standing; and this would lead us back through many years of the most unsettled times India has seen since the invasion by the Mahomedans." Futtehsing, the younger brother, was therefore recognised, and fortunately the elder brother soon died without issue.

The last of the large tributaries of the Rewa Kanta is Ballasinore, which State lies along the western bank of the Myhie (south-west of Loonawara) for a distance of about thirty miles. This is one of the few States in Guzerat which have been founded by Mahomedans. The present Chief, Zorawur Khan Babi, belongs to a family which furnished some distinguished officers to the imperial service in those evil days when the Empire was tottering to its fall under the hostile attacks and the still more dangerous assistance of the Mahrattas. Of the wreck the Babi family contrived to secure some fragments. One branch of it obtained the Jagheer and Foudaree of Radhunpoor on the north-west frontier, another seized on Joonaghur in Kattyawar, and a third converted the Foudaree of Ballasinore and Veerpoor into an hereditary principality, with the ever-green feud with Loonawara attached to it. Balka-

sinore was a tributary of the Peshwa as well as of the Gaekwar, and the British Government succeeding to the rights of the former, this State was for many years under the guardianship of the Collector of Kaira, in consequence of the minority of the Chief; and it has been but lately transferred to the more appropriate supervision of the Political Department.

Besides these tributary States, five Purgunnas, known as the Pawaghur Punch Mahal, which in the general scramble for the wreck of the Empire had fallen to the lot of Sindia, were included within their circumference. When hostilities broke out between the British and Sindia, these districts were taken possession of by Colonel Murray in 1803; but on the renewal of peace they were unfortunately restored. For many years subsequently the farm of the revenue was sold at Gwalior, annually or biennially, to the highest bidder, who, after squeezing all that could be got out of the inhabitants, made room for another hungry cormorant of the same species. The disastrous consequences were soon apparent. North, east, and south were the tributaries of the Gaekwar, of Sindia, and of Holkar,—all of them ill-ruled, turbulent little principalities, none of which could reasonably be said to be pattern States. But the several Political Officers who superintended them united in a general outcry against the egregious mismanagement and the super-eminent disorder of the Punch Mahal. The village system however here, as elsewhere, vindicated its power to keep together the elements of society under discouraging circumstances. The village communities became in a great measure independent; they engaged mercenaries for their protection; they occasionally made war upon each other; but though all were tending to destruction, they presented such a front to the unprincipled though feeble oppressors that came incessantly from Gwalior, that even their extortion and misrule failed altogether to ruin the country. A singular instance indeed was presented of the difference of vitality between village communities resting upon an agricultural basis, and a city which owed its rise and prosperity to adventitious circumstances. In the course of these events the city of Champaneer, which had once threatened to supersede Ahmedabad as the metropolis of Guzerat, disappeared altogether in the jungle which grew up around the foot of the mountain of Pawaghur.

When the adventurous Chohan, who had been driven from Delhi by the encroaching Moslem, arrived at Champaneer in 1244, a Bheel Chief, it is said, was in possession of the

place; by ejecting whom, he founded himself a dynasty which, in its turn, was expelled by Mahmood Beghura. The Rajpoot Chiefs probably added much both to the town and to the fortifications on the mountain, but it was reserved for the King of Guzerat to raise it to the rank of a capital city. Splendid mosques, gateways, serais, wells, tanks, and tombs still attest the magnificence of the caprice which paused at no expense for its own gratification. But the situation was ill chosen for a large city. It has latterly been unhealthy beyond the ordinary unhealthiness of Guzerat, in consequence of the dense vegetation; but it was probably never a salubrious locality. It was not central; it had no great river, and no port; and near it were the primeval jungles of Barrea, inhabited, according to popular opinion, by wild men, tigers, witches, demons, and evil spirits. It is not clear that the royal family ever permanently resided there, or that a royal palace was ever completed, if begun, as there are no ruins of such an edifice. So Champancer went down year after year, till at last an act of outrageous extortion on the part of Sindia's Soobah caused the scanty remaining population to emigrate in a body. It was then abandoned to the Bheel. Even the Bheel retreated before the tiger and the bear, and a tropical vegetation soon hid the upstart city from the sight of man.

At length the complaints of the British Political Officers around, joined to the consciousness that the Punch Mahal were not only a scandal, but had ceased even to be profitable, moved Sindia to give up the management of his districts to the British Government for ten years, as an experiment; and in 1853 the entire administration was made over to the Political Agent.

It may appear strange that when the British Government undertook to collect the Gaekwar's tribute free of expense, it did not obtain from him a transfer of his paramount rights over the tributaries. Indeed, up to the present day it does not seem to have been decided, perhaps not even discussed, whether the tributaries owe allegiance to the Gaekwar or to the British Government, or whether they are sovereign States, owing allegiance to none. The absence of any definition of this kind has occasionally given an appearance of inconsistency to the subsequent proceedings of Government. It has also obliged it to do what was right and fitting in itself, on comparatively insufficient grounds, and it has prevented it from laying down fixed principles for the most important of its regulations respecting the tributaries. Nevertheless, the forbearance of Government appears prudent, when we remember



that, beyond its camps, the Government of the Gaekwar possessed no authority over the tributaries until the British intervened as mediators. It was only while the Moolukgeeree force was in their vicinity that they ever paid their tribute; some of them resisted the force with desperation, and on more than one occasion with success. Had they and the Gaekwar been left to fight it out, it is by no means certain that Guzerat might not have been brought to anarchy before these States would have been reduced to submission. There was also wisdom in not attempting to define what, *beyond being unmolested*, were the rights and privileges of the Chiefs themselves. It could not have been done without inquiry, and inquiry would have aroused wild hopes and absurd pretensions; for there was hardly one on the list of tributaries that could not trace his family back to a period when it had been in a far better position than he himself held.

To be relieved from the exactions of the Moolukgeeree force, to escape from the hands of the plundering Mahratta to the protection of the British Government, was a great gain. By it they seemed to have recovered all, and more than all, the security and prosperity they had enjoyed under the illustrious Akbar, and of which the tradition has not yet passed away, though the substance had been gradually departing while the Empire was sinking under internal and external violence.

Up to this day the Mahratta, even among the Hindus of Guzerat, is looked on as an interloper. The Mahratta forces were always known by the name of Ghunceem's or plunderer's Horse, and the administration by Sindia of his Guzerat possessions is even now spoken of as the Ghunceem's Government. After much suffering under the Moslem, a Hindu Government had been established, and it was found (may we not say providentially?) miserably wanting. All classes, therefore, were prepared to welcome the British as that great power which was to build up again an empire, under the shadow of which all were to enjoy peace and justice, before which all were to bow down alike, and under the equal protection of which, according to the favorite native proverb, the tiger and the kid were to drink of the waters of the same fountain.

It may be well, at a time when a clamour has been raised against the British Government for its predilection to annexation, and when the coming storm aroused by the confiscation of Oude is rumbling in the distance, to exhibit the British Government in another character, viz. as the disinterested, or at least the very remotely inter-

ested benefactor, guardian, and mentor of Native Princes. In the Rewa Kanta it has been all this. Not satisfied with the great act of mercy which relieved them from the never-ending exactions of the Malrattas, by fixing their tributes in perpetuity, it took upon itself the unrequited task of collecting that tribute, to prevent the possibility of any future exactions, and by the same instrument cut off from itself the possibility of benefiting even by the rebellion or contumacy of the tributaries at any future time.

As a specimen of its dealings with these Chiefs, we draw the attention of our readers to the following description of what it has done for one of them. There are many others which owe to its humanity, justice, and moderation, their present prosperity, if not their present existence, though perhaps none that are so deeply indebted to it as Rajpeepla.

A singular fatality had pursued for several generations the Rajpeepla family, and the vices and imbecility of several succeeding Chiefs had assisted the Gaekwar in sapping its independence. In 1763 Ryesing, a child only seven years of age, being on the Gadee, Dumajee Gaekwar grasped a portion of the country, and obtained a half share in the revenues of its most valuable Purgunnas. This was subsequently commuted for an annual payment of forty thousand rupees. In 1781 this was increased under the following circumstances:—Ryesing having married the daughter of his Minister, had neglected her for a favourite concubine, who, gaining entire influence over him, imprisoned her more legitimate rival. The Minister intrigued with the Gaekwar (Futtehsing), who, shocked doubtless at the immorality of the Raja, interfered with an armed force, and—raised the tribute to Rs. 49,000! On the death of Ryesing he was succeeded by his imbecile brother Ajubsing. The Gaekwar taking advantage of the change, laid on an extra tribute of Rs. 15,000, to be paid biennially. In 1789 Rs. 2,000 of this tribute were remitted, but in 1793 it was increased to Rs. 78,000.

Ajubsing was succeeded A. D. 1803 by Ramsing, who, being usually drunk, necessarily left everything to be managed by his Minister. In 1805 the Gaekwar sent another force to Rajpeepla, extorted a nuzurana of one lakh and a half of rupees, and raised the tribute to Rs. 96,000. In consequence of the facility with which these things were done, another demand for Rs. 4,000 per annum was soon afterwards made and complied with.

On the death of Ramsing a quarrel broke out between his supposed child Purtabsing and his brother Narsing. The whole

story so illustrates the manners of these petty Courts, so clearly points to the dangers that incessantly menace them, and to the necessity of having a higher controlling and protecting power over them, that we do not hesitate to give it at length. Ramsing, dissatisfied with the allowance made him by his father, quarrelled with him and absconded to the residence of the petty Chief of Mandwa, not more than twelve miles distant on the further bank of the Nurbudda river. Here he enlisted mercenaries and invaded his father's territory. Being defeated, he returned to Mandwa, where he espoused Soorujkoor, the daughter of that Chief. A few months after, he became reconciled to his father, and having, in addition to the parental safe-conduct, procured the security of one of his father's mercenary leaders, he returned home. After a few more months he was arrested on a real or pretended charge of plotting to murder his father. His wife Soorujkoor fled to Mandwa, and hoping that the fact of Ramsing having offspring would deter his enemies from attempting his life, she procured the infant of an obscure Rajpoot, and boldly announced that she had brought forth a son. On Ajubsing's death the mercenaries put the prisoner Ramsing on the Gadce, and his brother Narsing fled for fear of his life. In 1810, Ramsing having become, from long continued intemperance, incapable of transacting business, was deposed, and his spurious child Purtabsing, eight years old, placed on the Gadce by the Gaekwar. The same year Ramsing died, and Narsing began to plunder the country. The disturbances continued till 1813, when a temporary settlement was effected with him, which however only lasted for five or six months, until fresh disturbances broke out. A great officer with a large force was then despatched by the Gaekwar, and an arrangement peculiarly Mahratta in its character was made. Purtabsing and Narsing were to observe a truce for two years, during which time the Gaekwar was to occupy and manage the country. At the end of two years the rivals were to submit their claims to the decision of a Punchayet. This occurred in 1815, but, as had been no doubt foreseen by the wily Mahrattas, the two years extended to four, without the parties even coming to any preliminary agreement; in fact, it was hardly possible to convene a Punchayet of which the members should not be more or less under the Gaekwar's influence, and he had already evinced his partiality for Purtabsing. At last the Resident at Baroda proposed to the Bombay Government that *he* should inquire into the matter, and report the result for its decision; which being

approved, the investigation was entrusted to Mr. J. P. Willoughby, and conducted with singular assiduity, tact, and ability. It terminated in convincing proof that Purtabsing was spurious, and the Gaekwar (Syajee Row) was obliged, after characteristic procrastination, shuffling, and sullenness, to admit the pretensions of Narsing.

The British Government then assumed the management of Rajpeepla. As Narsing was blind, and unable to perform the functions of the Gadee, his son Vereesall was only thirteen years of age, the State was bankrupt, and the country fearfully disorganised, a Minister and Regent was appointed by Narsing, and confirmed by the British Government, and the administration placed under the supervision of Mr. Willoughby.

The state of affairs at Rajpeepla prior to this authoritative interference is described in a letter from Captain J. R. Carnac, the Resident at Baroda, dated 15th December 1815 :—

“ Civil discord and its attendant calamities have almost annihilated the population of the Rajpeepla country. A fertile tract, yielding formerly, as is reported, under an efficient administration, an annual revenue of several lakhs of rupees ; extending in length sixty, in breadth sixty coss ; containing in all about five hundred towns and villages, has now only fifteen of them inhabited.\* The arrangement which (the rivals) Narsing and Purtabsing have concluded, to suspend the exercise of authority, and their mutual stipulations that the Gaekwar shall administer the affairs of Rajpeepla until fully indemnified for the expenses incurred on account of that State, have been called for by the situation in which the Gaekwar was placed. Every pains will be taken by the servants of the Gaekwar to apply a remedy to existing evils. No exertion will be spared to keep the country in tranquillity, and to restore it to prosperity. It is therefore to be hoped, that by the time the Gaekwar shall be indemnified for his extensive demands against Rajpeepla (calculated at nearly twelve lakhs of rupees), the country will be regenerated, and returned to its Prince in its primitive flourishing condition, to the permanent happiness of the inhabitants, and the security of the surrounding districts.”

We have already seen in what manner the Gaekwar bestirred himself to bring the disputes of the rivals to a friendly termination. Let us see the result of his promised efforts to regenerate the country.

\* This must be received with some allowance.

Mr. Willoughby wrote as follows :—

“ The state of the country is miserable in the extreme, and the voice of misery saluted my ears in every place I visited. The foundation of this is undoubtedly to be traced to the disputes of Narsing and Purtabsing ; but it has been infinitely increased by the exactions of the Gaekwar Government, and more so by those of its officers. The towns and villages are mostly in ruins.

“ Bucha Jemedar contracted with the Gaekwar Government to farm the revenues last year for Rupees 2,40,000. What was levied was only obtained by all the usual modes used with a view of extorting money by Native Governments, and by levying on each koomba of land enormous rates, varying from Rs. 20 to Rs. 50 ; and even after this, an extra tax was laid on each house.”

When the British connection with Rajpeepla began, the pecuniary claims of the Gaekwar on it amounted to Rupees 21,76,246. He was induced, however, in the first instance to remit Rupees 9,20,019, leaving a balance of Rupees 12,56,226. Subsequently a further reduction was made, which brought down the debt to Rupees 7,49,669, of which the sum of Rupees 4,05,694 was to be immediately paid ; and for the balance, five annual instalments were stipulated. It is obvious that such a great reduction, and so favorable a settlement of a claim which had nearly brought loss of independence to the Rajpeepla State, could only have been effected by the good offices of the British Government, earnestly and perseveringly exercised. But this would not have sufficed. So large a ready payment as was necessary to satisfy the Gaekwar was altogether beyond the means of Rajpeepla, and Rupees 2,25,001 were borrowed on the guarantee of the British Government for that purpose.

From inquiries made at this time, it seemed that the average revenue for ten years, from A. D. 1776 to 1785, had been Rupees 3,45,585 ; the average for ten years from 1794 to 1803, Rupees 2,59,405 ; the average during seven years from 1804 to 1810, Rupees 2,50,160 ; the average of ten years from 1810 to 1819, Rupees 2,37,960. The first three periods had been those of the administration of the Rajas Rycsing, Ajubsing and Purtabsing, while during the last it had been conducted by the officers of the Gaekwar. After the administration had been assumed by the British Government, the average for eight years, from 1821 to 1829, was Rupees 2,21,220, the assessment having been much

reduced. Then succeeded a period of four years, when, the British supervision being relaxed, the Raja, Minister, and the bankers had their own way. The revenue was reported to have fallen to Rupees 1,76,361, but had in fact (in breach of conditions to which all were parties) been embezzled to a large amount. On this the British Government had to interfere again, and the revenues being farmed for seven years, produced an average of Rupees 2,24,633. At the close of this farm the entire management of the country was left with the Raja, and the average of the succeeding nine years, up to A. D. 1848-9, fell to Rupees 2,06,590. But it would appear that the latter returns cannot be depended on, as they were systematically cooked, to show a lower rate of revenue than was actually realised.

In 1848 the affairs of Rajpeepla had again fallen into such a state of disorder that an investigation became necessary, as the British Government was guarantee for the due fulfilment of its engagements both to the Gaekwar and the creditors. It appeared from that investigation that the Raja and his karbharees had been guilty of intercepting the revenue in a variety of ways,—viz. by suppressing the names of villages, by fictitious farms, and by various modes of raising money without bringing it to account. The Political Agent wrote as follows:—"The Raja and his dependants have intercepted the revenue of every description of resource, whether it is derived from the Cornelian mines, Abkaree, Sayer, Timber, &c. There are no village accounts that can be depended on, and the Raja informs me there are no Talook (district) or Huzoor (Treasury) accounts. It remains for Government to take such measures as it may deem fit for the future administration of the State and the enforcement of its own orders. From the example set by the Raja it is not to be wondered at that his karbharees and their dependants have cheated him; and the farmers, to meet his and their demands, have been obliged to exact every rupee they could from the ryots, and to commit oppressive acts—such as collecting more than the gunwut (lease), compelling the holders of rent-free lands to pay an assessment on them, keeping back money payments due to Pattels, Dhiers, &c., and many other acts of a like description. The Raja appears devoid of all energy, and incapable of managing the State, and he has not a single respectable person in his employ competent to perform the duties of Minister. The ryots can obtain no redress," &c. &c. &c.

It must be borne in mind that the Raja, when rescued from the

Gaekwar's gripe, had signed an agreement, binding himself and his heirs for ever to act in everything relating to the settlement of all the affairs of his country according to the advice of the Honourable Company. "Whatever may be the desire of the Government," he declared, "I will act according to it. In conformity with this agreement, whoever may be Chieftain of the country from generation to generation, he will act." Bearing this in mind, the most rabid Philo-indicus would, we should think, admit that the reply of Government to the energetic reclamations of the Political Agent was of the mildest and most forbearing character. \*

It began by narrowing its views to matters connected with the State itself,—viz. "the punctual realisation of the demands for which it is responsible, and the establishment of such a police as will prevent *its own subjects* from suffering from the depredations of the wild tribes composing the chief part of the population of a considerable portion of Rajpootana." If these two objects could be obtained, Government cared little about the mode; but it preferred to withdraw from interference with the Raja's administration, on his satisfying all pecuniary demands.

In the mean time the Political Agent, who had unveiled the malpractices and broken engagements of the Raja, had been removed to another scene, and his successor, acting upon the not obscurely expressed wishes of the British Government, though admitting the truth of all the charges of his predecessor, found many excuses for the conduct of the Prince. During his stay at Nadode (the Raja's capital) his time, he said, was fully occupied in adjusting disputes between the Raja and the farmers, and between the farmers and (oppressed) ryots, of which the cases were numerous. Many references had been made by his predecessor and himself on these points to the Raja, who had taken no notice of them; therefore His Highness was *respectfully urged* to reply to these letters (addressed to him, he it remembered, by two successive representatives of that British Government whose advice he was bound to follow in all things)! The Raja replied only in general terms, that it would endanger his authority to inquire into the grievances of his people! However, he was profuse with promises of future amendment. With the utmost readiness he issued a proclamation declaring slavery to be illegal; he engaged *one* vaccinator and *one* schoolmaster for his dominions; "consented" to take hereditary securities from the villages bordering on British territory (which had been done by Mr. Willough-

by twenty years before ! ) ; and, as a finishing touch to the regenerative charta of Rajpéepla, *promised* to publish sanitary rules for the health and cleanliness of his villages. So, on the whole, as he really was able to complete those pecuniary arrangements which the Government had so exclusively at heart, the Political Agent proposed to view his conduct with indulgence—not even with censure—only regret.

This was in fact done. The Government directed that the Raja should be informed “in courteous terms” that it viewed with sorrow his want of gratitude towards the British Government, which had saved him and his State from ruin ; that he should be warned that the resources of his country as they existed in 1822-3 would be held answerable for the pecuniary demands for which Government was responsible ; that no alienations since then would be respected ; that public must take precedence of private claims ; that any severity towards those who had brought their grievances forward would be visited with severe displeasure ; in short, to quote the exact words, Government desired to “leave the vices of the Raja’s management to work their own cure, in showing their ruinous consequences.”

In reviewing these proceedings, and knowing as we do that the Raja subsequently broke all his promises, and evinced so headstrong a determination not to be guided in any matter by the advice of the British Government as to draw down upon him those severe measures which he escaped on the above occasion, it occurs to us that we may ask by way of reflection,—How long, and to what extent it will be possible for Government to support these Chiefs in doing “*what they like with their own*” ? This interference with Rajpéepla is no exceptional case of disinterested exertion for the benefit of a Native Chief. Many others have experienced similar kindness. . . Nay, there are very few who do not at some time or other experience it. The question therefore which forces itself on us is,—How often are these Chiefs to be raised out of the slough into which their vices or their imbecilities plunge them ; and then how often are they to be allowed to drop doggedly into it again ? We do not suppose that when the Raja bound himself—and his bond was accepted—to be for ever guided by the advice of the British Government in the administration of his affairs, either party gazed far into futurity. But Government can hardly treat such a bond as a nullity, or escape altogether the responsibility which it brings with it ; for assuredly we are not only responsible for the ill we do ourselves, but



also for the ill which, having the right and the might to prevent, we allow to be wrought by others. More than this: leaving these petty Chiefs thus to do what they will with their own, and to sink with their estates lower and lower, while all India is elsewhere rising higher and higher, we are allowing them, slowly perhaps, but not less surely, to consummate their own extinction.

The connection of the British Government with the protected States must be viewed as an experiment on a large scale to prove whether they, with their sovereign pretensions, can be made useful members of society in the new era that has already dawned upon us. Those who cry out the loudest against the invasion of Native rights, and what they term the degradation of Native Princes, on the score of abstract justice, as well as those who take their stand with Sir John Malcolm on the impolicy and danger of annexing them on account of certain useful purposes and functions which they discover in them, appear to have failed in recognising which way, and to what lengths an overruling Providence is leading us. The India which is unfolding herself to the gaze of the present generation is very different from the *beau idéal* of Sir John Malcolm. We are much mistaken if she has not made during the last few years a longer stride towards unity and indivisibility than in any preceding centuries of her history. The foreign adventurers who have gradually subdued all her various races and rival Princes, have at last succeeded in welding them all into one Empire, already more extensive and more firmly based than that of the Moghul, more real and palpable than that of Rama, or any other mythic potentate of her heroic age. The conquerors themselves are in turn merging their individuality into the mighty system of order and union which constrains the whole land, from the Snowy Mountains to the Southern Ocean. Is it likely that under such a system any individual will long be endured, who shall claim the privilege of keeping up chronic chaos in the midst of order, even though he be descended from Rama, or boast the blood of Taimur? The public voice will surely refuse to ratify such pretensions.

With the tributary Chiefs in Guzerat, the British Government has entered into no agreement beyond a general promise of protection; and the position it has always occupied towards them forbids the idea that any engagements they may have been called upon to sign have been more than rules presented for their guidance,—rules liable to be altered, added to, or enlarged, according to the exigencies of the time. In return for British

protection, and in mere gratitude for its active and zealous beneficence, they are bound to adopt such arrangements as shall be suggested to them by the British Government for the benefit of the country and people. We would purposely abstain from placing any limit to this suggestive privilege, except such as reason and good faith may dictate. For instance, some of the Chiefs now exercise the power of life and death ; but we may easily suppose a not remote period when they may be called on, for the public good, to surrender a prerogative which Englishmen do not grant to the proudest and the most highly cultivated of their own nobility. And again, knowing perfectly well what the present Chiefs are in education and knowledge of the world, we may not object to their entrusting, as they do, their own interests and those of their own subjects also, to the almost uncontrolled direction of Ministers who have some tincture of administrative talent ; but, then, we must claim the right of insisting on the removal of these men when they become unworthy and corrupt, and appointing others who can be trusted ; otherwise we may find that by lending the tacit approval of the British Government to cruelty and misgovernment, we are ourselves committing the awful crime of those rulers “ who decree iniquity by a law.”

We do not hesitate, therefore, to claim for the British Government an almost unlimited right of urging these tributaries forward in the path of improvement, the pace and goal being merely relative questions of expediency. We mean, that we would not have it urge them so fast as to upset the machine, or drive it into “ the realms of chaos and old Night,” in pursuit of a fancied perfection which here can never be attained.

Upon two points, however, we consider the British Government should, for its honour's sake, be decided. The first is, that under no circumstances short of the extinction of the existing families, is the Imperial Treasury to be enriched to the value of a pie by these tributaries ; and second, that the right of succession within the limits sanctioned by custom should not be tampered with. On the first point we believe the British Government to be sound, but we have some doubts, and—what is of infinitely more importance—the Chiefs also have some doubts, about the second.

The Court of Directors have desired that whenever, by failure of direct descendants, a State devolves on collateral heirs, their sanction shall be obtained before the Gadee is allowed to be occupied ; and they have, we believe, uniformly resisted every

attempt to fix any general principle by which these successions are to be regulated. We think this course unwise and unnecessary. It seems absurd that the succession to estates which have belonged to the same family from the days when our ancestral Britons painted and tattooed their skins, should require the confirmation of any body of men, either in India or out of it. We believe that this asserted right of the Honourable Court has done more to arouse suspicion and disloyalty than the annexation of half a dozen principalities would do ; and, unless we are very much mistaken, it has given birth to a general practice of foisting spurious children on the families of the tributaries,—a system extremely easy of adoption under the domestic arrangements of Natives of rank, and excessively difficult of detection and exposure.

With respect to adoptions, the case does not appear to us to differ much. Among the Guzerat Chiefs (Rajpoots at least) adoption is only another mode of bequeathing an estate to one who is a collateral heir. Instead of a written will or instrument, there is a symbolical action ; but still the estate passes always to one of the same blood. A transferring of sovereign powers over free men, in the same manner and by the same act that a landed estate is transmitted to one of the same name and lineage, is opposed to our Anglo-Saxon feelings. Our thoughts may recur involuntarily to the will of the Confessor, and his grant of Saxon England to the Norman William ; but practically, and under the paramount authority of the British Government, exercised as we have suggested it should be, it matters little whether the succession is by will, by adoption, or by direct descent. "Not Amurath an Amurath succeeds, but Harry Harry." The constitutional check is applied from above by the paramount authority, instead of from below ; and in the natural course of events, Chief after Chief will slide by imperceptible degrees from sovereignty to the rank and condition of great landed proprietors, by a better fate than that of Milesian Kings and Highland Chieftains, or even Irish Squires ; weeded out as these last are by the sharp process of an Encumbered Estates Bill.

We have placed the right of the British Government to enforce progress and improvement among Native States on the high ground of duty, on the inalienable prerogative of imperial legislation ; but we may add the lower plea of expediency also. India and England, and the civilised world, have been lately startled by

the accounts of a savage, desperate, and extensive insurrection under the very palace windows, as it were, of the Governor General. The distinctive feature of that Santhal outbreak, which should make our statesmen reflect and ponder, was certainly its suddenness and the apparent causelessness. The Rewa Kanta States contain many thousands of men as wild, as fierce, as savage, as cunning, and to all appearance as quiet in their normal condition as were the Santals. South, east, and north also are wide districts occupied by similar aboriginal races.

In 1837-8 there occurred among them an outbreak of a tribe termed Naikras, who occupied parts of the wild country within the jurisdictions of Sindia, Oodeypoor, and Barrea. A British force under Major Forbes, a distinguished partisan officer, marched out, and in one campaign quelled the disturbance; but not until a degree of devastation and misery had been caused, the remembrance of which has not yet passed away. Mr. A. Malet reported to Government that "the State of the Naikras under Barrea had for some time been approaching to real independence. Several causes had contributed to this, the most prominent of which were—1st, a desire common to the relatives and dependents of Native Princes, to have some place of refuge always at hand; 2nd, a natural wish on the part of the Raja to be able to retaliate on his neighbours whenever necessary, and without compromising himself (by slipping his Naikras at them); 3rd, a participation in their booty, which, though carefully concealed, is prevalent among the petty States; 4th, weakness of the Chief, which, besides other evils, allows full play to the above motives." This we believe to be a true and not overcharged picture. The normal condition of a petty Chief, such as most of these tributaries are, is entire dependence on the Minister of the hour, or some energetic relative; an acquiescence rather than a participation in what is going on about him; a surrender, in short, of the responsibilities of his situation. When matters go smoothly, the Chief benefits by the practices of his Minister; and when matters come to a crisis, he either proves to be utterly ignorant of passing events, or so completely enchained by ignorance, want of principle, and want of vigour, as to excite contemptuous pity rather than indignation. Under such a system as this, it is only owing to the vigilance of the representative of Government that the country is spared from more frequent repetitions of such horrors as a Naikra or Santhal rebellion; and it may be asked with reason, why we should staid

everlastingly looking on and watching for accidents, and not interfere to reform a savagery which renders society constantly liable to convulsion; which, moreover, advances no legal or righteous interests of the Chiefs, but on the contrary, keeps their territory in perpetual danger, and comparative poverty.

Fortunately, in one case the experiment has been tried of combining the integrity and vigour of a British administration with the personal rights and privileges of a petty Chief; and the experiment has been successful.

The Narookote Talooka was the property of a Chief of the Barrea clan. He was nominally subject to Chota Oodeypoor; but the Gaekwar's Government having rendered him tributary, he became subordinate, with other Chiefs, to the British Government, and after the abolition of the Political Agency which had been placed in the hands of Mr. Willoughby, he, with others, fell under the general supervision of the Resident at Baroda. The head quarters of the Residency having been removed to Ahmedabad, little notice was taken for years of the Rewa Kanta Chiefs, and the Gaekwar's officers again contrived to assume some authority over Narookote. The Talooka then fell into the usual intermittent state of confusion, until the Chief solicited the Gaekwar's aid, and in return for that aid assigned to him half the revenues of Narookote. According to the apparently eternal laws by which Mahrattas are guided, the half of the revenues was rigidly collected; but so far from any arrangements being made for the regeneration of the Purgunna, or the control of the Naikras, the whole district became deserted, every village was burnt down, and the conduct of the Gaekwar officials such, that the people, having absconded in a body, refused to return so long as they remained.

All these facts were discovered when the Residency was re-established at Baroda; and Mr. Malet had the gratification of restoring this desolated but most favoured little district to a degree of prosperity which has been steadily advancing, year by year, from 1838 to the present time. The Barrea Chief offered the British Government the same terms which he had offered the Gaekwar's, for its assistance. They were accepted; but though the revenues have increased tenfold under its management, not a pie has reached the Treasury, the moiety received by the British Government having been scrupulously expended in the protection and improvement of the property. But a still more gratifying fact remains to be told. The great majority of the population consists of the

wild tribes who had just been coerced by Major Forbes—who had just before spread desolation and terror far and near; but from that date to the present, no serious offence has been committed by them; and so quiet and inoffensive has been their conduct, that the district may be pronounced free from crime to a degree that astonishes those who have had long experience of Guzerat.

The situation of a petty Native Chieftain is not one which presents many attractions to the civilised mind; and it unfortunately happens that he generally leaves to others the only means of making it tolerable, by surrendering the current duties of administration to his Minister. Living in solitary state, he is usually on indifferent terms with his nearest relatives, and his amusements are generally such as can only be shared by sycophants, who are unrestrained by scruples of caste, as well as by any moral considerations. The baneful effects of polygamy are so many thorns in his side. To have many wives is necessary for the preservation of his dignity; but he can exercise little choice in their selection. Hereditary custom has left but few families with whom he can intermarry; and as his wives have a natural jealousy of each other, a plentiful stock of ancestral pride and insolence, a copious vocabulary and no fear of consequences, they render his palace a place of torment, and drive him to repose what affections he has on some lowly concubine, who accepts his love as a favour, and not as a right. As a parent also the evils of his rank pursue him. If he has one child (a son) only, he is at peace; if he has more, the younger ones are nuclei round which factions are formed; and if the younger sons are by different wives, these factions become not unfrequently dangerous. His daughters cause him many mortifications, and once in their lives at least a heavy expense. The family priest has usually the task of their betrothal, and he perhaps makes many a weary round before his wares are disposed of. The whole interior life of these people is cheerless and monotonous, when it is not diversified by discord, and embittered by domestic brawls.

As a class, they may be charged rather with sins of omission than of commission. There is of course some petty and active oppression, but this falls usually on individuals. Trades, castes, and guilds have a collective strength which this despotism dares not brave beyond a certain point. The revenue arrangements, though uncertain, are generally easy to the cultivator, who by a small bribe can obtain good terms. Indeed, a sleepy, indulgent,

*dolce far niente* kind of spirit pervades these States, and is probably not unacceptable to the inhabitants, who have as little love of innovation and comprehend improvement as little as their masters. A political Rip Van Winkle might safely go to rest here, without fear of his waking being perplexed by such strange metamorphoses as he experienced after his immortal slumber in the far West.

Reform and improvement must, under such circumstances, come from without in these States, if they come at all. Of the signs of the times they know, and therefore understand, nothing save that, is at intervals urged upon them by foreign energy. Slaves and child-broils have been abolished, not a little to their astonishment. But they cannot comprehend why Europeans should trouble themselves about other people's women and children. Whoring, drinking, and torturing old women for being witches, they are not so displeased with. The British Government, and they assent to its suppression for the sake of quiet, but nevertheless retain an unshaken belief in witchcraft. Thousands of their subjects' children die periodical of small-pox: they are told to introduce vaccination; they grumble a little at the expense, have their own ideas that a sacrifice to Kalika, a little ghee and vermillion, a wooden toy-cart offered at her shrine, and some time-honoured trifles of this kind, would answer every purpose; but they submit again to the harmless eccentricities of their European masters, without themselves advancing voluntarily one step on that path along which the whole energies of the British Government are exerted to urge the myriad races of the Indian Empire.

Intervention and Non-intervention have long been the watch-words of two parties; but we have never discovered any rule of general application hidden under them, which either party was prepared to accept. We believe, however, that there is not a little misconception abroad on this subject, and that the principle of intervention is made responsible for certain consequences of ill-judged, inadequate, and unsuccessful interference, with which it has nothing to do. We have reason to know, too, that there is much misconception as to the feelings of the Chiefs themselves on this point, and a want of discrimination as to the reasonableness of these feelings. We have argued in favour of intervention, but restrict our advocacy to such as is disinterested and benevolent: We would never wish to see exercised a system of petty meddling, both vexatious and frivolous, much less one by means of which the British Government should seek to secure little personal advan-

tages for itself. We would interfere to secure a good administration and its attendant advantages, in which both Chief and people should participate. We would urge the adoption of well-considered measures for the improvement of the Chiefs' estate,—measures of mercy, charity, and beneficence; but we would not interfere to force on the Chiefs the adoption of measures detrimental to their own revenue, for the sake of propping up British monopolies of salt and opium, or of obtaining teak timber for our dockyards at something below the market rate.

We believe that with the exception of the article of adoptions, the Native Chiefs have a firm reliance on the moderation and justice of the British Government. The experience of one generation has shown them that it is too high-minded to take advantage of any of those opportunities which the inherent defects of their own domestic economy furnish for their dismemberment, and that it treats with singular lenity their own shortcomings. Incessant, therefore, are their applications for assistance in their family and pecuniary complications. Repeatedly is an infant Chief placed by his widow mother, to use her own expressive language, “in the lap” of the British Government, and the control of his estate put under its guardianship, to secure him from the plots and usurpations of greedy kinsmen and intriguing Ministers. Often is the same interference invoked to settle family squabbles, and (more delicate ground still) to further, by a good word or a gentle hint, the desired marriage of a daughter or a sister. While such are the usual relations of the representative of Government and the Chiefs, there is not much fear that his suggestions in administrative matters, carefully weighed, and tendered with firmness and disinterestedness, will be disregarded.

But such confidence and such influence are not conceded to every one whom the Government may please to nominate; they do not necessarily arise *ex officio*. For their acquirement certain personal qualities are necessary. The Chiefs, it must be remembered, know the British Government mainly as it manifests itself to them in the conduct and demeanour of its representative. He, on his part, is wisely left to a great degree untrammelled, as well as unfortified by any code of laws. He has to perform the duties alternately of a Revenue Officer, of a Magistrate, of a Police Officer, of a Civil and Criminal Judge; and to discharge them efficiently his most obvious want is experience,—experience involving a practical knowledge of the land tenures, of the reciprocal relations of the Chiefs and their subjects and tenants, of



the history, connections, usages, and precedents of each family, in addition to the general usages of all families of rank. These are the peculiar qualifications of a Political Officer; in addition to which he needs also the usual qualifications of every Mofussil functionary,—accessibility, temper, patience, firmness, and a love for the work given him to do *for its own sake*.

Experience, however, we consider as the first and the last indispensable qualification for every Political Officer holding an independent charge. Without it, and the consciousness of the strength which it gives, the ablest man may and will commit blunders which may embarrass him and Government for years; without it, he must more or less lean on the local knowledge, or be guided by the advice of his native subordinates,—a position full of danger to himself and the interests committed to him. The most powerful weapon in the armoury of the English gentleman who rules Natives of every rank, is unquestionably his personal and official integrity. As the personification of that rare and great virtue, he is principally revered and obeyed. It is the noblest of the triumphs he has won in this country. It is that which confirms his title to command. From its simple strength, his decisions are submitted to, when they are known to be his own. But let the suspicion be aroused that the influence of a Native subordinate has power with him, and all is changed. The feet of clay are added to the head of gold, and the image, though it still claims to represent power and justice, is believed in and revered no more.

## ART. V.—MILITARY MEN AND THEIR DRESS.

1. *History of the Dress of the British Soldier.* By Lieutenant-Colonel J. LUARD. Impl. 8vo. London : 1852.
2. *Life in the Mission, the Camp, and Zenana.* By Mrs. COLIN MCKENZIE. London : 1853.
3. *The Wetherbys, Father and Son ; Sundry Chapters of Indian Experience.* By J. LANG. Fcap. 8vo. London : 1853.

THE book we have placed at the head of our list merited an earlier notice; it has, however, apparently been left entirely to its own attractions and strong subscription list. Colonel Luard's is a beautiful book, and just the one we might expect from that very agreeable combination, when it occurs, of the thorough soldier and accomplished English gentleman. Commencing A. D. 78, he favours us with a representation of the foot soldier of the Roman Legions, the conquerors of Britain; then we have the several costumes in which British soldiers have, at various periods, successively figured, including those of the Indian Army, down to the year 1852. Nothing can be better or more spirited than these engravings, and they are accompanied throughout by short comments, particularly appropriate and graphic. Our politics we will keep a secret; but in this matter of military costume, we think the staunchest asserter of the constant march of improvement will allow his theory to be at fault. Look at our Roman friend A. D. 78 (p.1), and then turn to one of our infantry men in his Albert chako and similar improvements in the year of grace 1852 (p. 111). The comparison is humiliating, and will, we hope, justify us in the eyes of our readers for entering somewhat more into the tailoring department than is generally expected of reviewers.

We have said that the drawings are excellent. Among them are some very interesting delineations of various military caps, ancient and modern; and on one page (130) we have presented in juxtaposition a fashionable lady's head-dress of the year 1782 and the present head-dress worn by our Guardsmen and Horse Artillery. We need hardly say that this is the true way of treating the subject, in its artistic view; and so far, Colonel Luard leaves nothing to be wished for. When, however, we

come to the gallant author's own suggestions at the end, we confess to a feeling of disappointment: the accomplished artist and experienced soldier suddenly lets the "cold shade" of the Horse Guards damp his colouring. Interesting as these suggestions are, they are not half or a tenth part the value they might have been had not the old associations of a "determined stickler to the Regulations for Dress" (Preface)—further awakened by an old friend's miserable (we must call it) criticism that "such a work will have no effect but to make young officers dissatisfied with their present dress" (Preface)—been allowed, unconsciously perhaps, to exercise a mischievous though not unnatural influence over the author's mind when he comes to the details of a reform, the necessity of which his pictures so convincingly prove by a *reductio ad absurdum*. We note, for example, that the stock, the very *bête noire* of military dress, is retained by Colonel Luard; and among his remarks on arms, while the modern ashen lance is justly pronounced to be a heavy and not a light cavalry weapon, it is at the same time proposed that the rear rank should be led into action with their lances *slung on the left arm*; in other words, that the rear rank of a lancer regiment should not only be deprived of their lances (which possibly might be an excellent measure), but deprived of the use of their left arms as well.

We would like to say here just a very few words about lances. Were it not that we have been taught by the long lesson of life to be surprised at nothing, we should be sadly puzzled to account for the continuance of the present lance in the British Army. As it is totally and essentially a different weapon to the lance used by the chivalry of the middle ages, and was introduced into the British service after Waterloo, it has no *prestige* to plead in its favor; and when *prestige* and poetry are excluded, and the argument reduced to a practical one, we, speaking from actual practice, cannot conceive how there should be two opinions on the question, whether the lance of the British service is a suitable weapon for the requirements of modern warfare. The Commandant of the Sind Horse, than whom there cannot be a higher practical authority, thus sums up his remarks on the subject:—"The lance is, in my opinion (formed after considerable experience of its use, both in the chase and in battle), useless for light cavalry; it may be very showy, but out of five hundred lancers, not half a score will be found really masters of their weapon for war. The sword and carbine are *facile princeps* among light horsemen's weapons." Captain Nolan,

after recounting a number of interesting and indisputable cases in point—all against the lance,—states that he “never spoke with an English lancer who had been engaged in the late Sikh war that did not declare the lance to be a useless tool, and a great incumbrance in close conflict.”\* As a curious specimen of the careless way people let themselves think on this as on other questions, we quote the following from the *Illustrated News*, January 26, 1856, apropos to a likeness given of a gallant trooper of the 17th Lancers:—“John Penn speaks very highly of the lance. \* \* \* Unfortunately for many of the brave fellows of his regiment, they had their poles shattered by the enemy’s grape shot. On their coming up to the Russian guns, they were ordered to charge, when he made a point at a gunner which took effect, the lance going through his body. He could not extricate it, as he was at a gallop.”—So that this high praise of lances resolves itself into the simple fact, that the greater part were useless before they reached the enemy, and their advocate himself was disarmed at the first point. But gallant John Penn is by no means alone in his logic. Most lancers’ logic that we have encountered has been strikingly similar to the above.

To return to our Military Dress. There is really a mystery about the subject—a mysterious contradiction apparently of the usual law of cause and effect! Our officers are, generally speaking, an instinctively well-dressed body when left to themselves; they are, moreover, more or less sportsmen; and we know the chase is “mimicry of noble war.” Our private soldiers are delivered into the hands of our military rulers, to be shaved, dressed, and accoutred *ad libitum*; and what is the result?—A dress that no artist can tolerate sufficiently to represent faithfully; a dress which the highest medical authorities declare to be positively prejudicial to health; a dress which our highest military authorities—the Duke of Wellington in the Peninsula, Sir H. Somerset at the Cape, Sir Charles Napier in Sind, Lord Raglan in the Crimea—have invariably found incompatible with the requirements of actual service, when out of sight of the Horse Guards; a dress of which the smartest and staunchest wearer hastens to divest himself the moment he can. Few things would seem to demand reform so much, and to be so capable of reformation, as our military dress; yet in nothing has reform been so singularly unhappy. The simplicity of the matter is, we

\* Nolan’s *Cavalry; its History and Tactics*.

apprehend, the stumbling-block. A lady complained to Dr. Abernethy that her side pained her whenever she put her hand so. "Then," quoth the ungallant but strictly sensible Doctor, "why the deuce, Madam, do you put your hand so?" Condemning, as we are bound to do, the dreadful ungallantry of this treatment, we wish that the spirit of it were a little more common in other as well as medical matters. In the matter before us—military costume—there seems an almost universal agreement of opinion, at least by those whose opinion is really valuable, that the present Prussian collar and stock are in a high degree hurtful and objectionable; yet the abolition of this incongruous fashion, and the substitution for it of a turn-down collar and neckerchief, seem never hinted at. We have no military Abernethys. One reformer suggests a stock of some softer material, which turns out to be still hotter and heavier in the end than the leather one. Another sticks by the stock, but cuts a notch in the Prussian collar. The late Lord Fitzclarence abolished the stock, but insisted on the Prussian collar being closely buttoned up. Our author quotes from Dr. Ferguson's valuable and well known "Notes and Recollections of a Professional Life," the following sentence on the stock:—"It would seem to be preserved only for the purpose of generating a tendency to all kinds of apoplectic and opthalmic diseases." Corroborating this from his own experience, he says (p. 162), as every man who has a right to say anything must say, "it is most desirable to get rid of the stiff leather stock." Yet he can only suggest in lieu of it "a smooth piece of brown leather sewn inside the collar of the coat, *sufficiently stiff* to prevent the collar from sinking down, which would render any stock or neckcloth unnecessary." Marry, we should think so; much as a mustard plaister renders a blister unnecessary. A sketch (p. 99) of a 4th Dragoon officer, date 1785, only 70 years ago, shows the collar of the coat turned down, and the neckerchief worn after the English, and not the Prussian fashion; so antiquity gives the stock no warrant. We have seen the highest medical authority condemn it; we have seen, too, that the highest military authorities, however great "sticklers for the Regulations," when efficiency is at stake, condemn it. Yet to abolish it seems so awfully simple an alternative, that we shrink from it with aversion.

If we view the arrangement of costumes in the light of an art, the tight stiff collar round the throat appears intolerable. By abruptly cutting short, as it were, the cheeks from the neck, it causes in

the majority of faces a certain puffy and animal effect which no artist can endure. Accordingly, in defiance of the "Regulations on Dress," we usually see, in all portraits of our most distinguished soldiers, a bit of the collar slyly opened, and the shirt-collar or a fold of the neckerchief exhibited, or some other artistic contrivance to save them from what the Police reporters generally designate a "military appearance"! Our old friend Major Ponto (an excellent fellow, but with rather a full face and empty head), indignant as he is at the Police reporters' idea of what constitutes a "military" appearance, is quite thankful and proud that he wears a stock every day of his life; has done so for forty years. Stock! Nonsense! How did we fight in the Peninsula but with "stocks"? At such an appeal to actual personal experience, we for a moment stand silenced before the veteran. We cannot, indeed, help presuming to think that after forty years' habitude, a stock, hair shirt, or any similar piece of apparel, might become not only tolerable, but even necessary to comfort, and yet not be advocated withal; and we recollect, too, that we had a standing army, and that our soldiers had fought hard and gloriously before the era of stocks and of the Peninsular War. We are, however, soon completely relieved on meeting another and a superior stamp of veteran, who tells us that "in the Peninsula the stock was buckled to the bayonet belt,"\* and we firmly tell our old friend Major P. that we will listen to no opinion in favour of this detestable piece of martinet foppery imported from Potsdam, and continued in spite of the condemnation which the highest and best authorities on the subject have recorded. Turn down the collar and wear a neckcloth, and Colonel Luard's coat will do very well. If there is no collar at all, and the neck bare, the effect is not good to our eyes, when the complexion is European. We remember noticing particularly the curious appearance this arrangement gave to an officer of the Nizam's service with whom it was our good fortune to spend a pleasant evening. He did not wear a beard, which might possibly have relieved the want of finish to the coat; but as it was, the neck, smooth and bare from the collar-bone, looked precisely as though prepared for a sentence of decapitation. We positively could not get rid of the idea that an executioner with his axe was somewhere close to us all the evening, and felt quite relieved when our friend went away with his head safe on his shoulders.

\* Letter in the *London Times*, written by Colonel Gawler.

We cannot approve of Colonel Luard's helmet, as the peak behind would prove a troublesome affair, and felt is not a suitable material for a soldier's head-dress. We confess we are satisfied with the forage cap. Let it be handsomely laced and peaked, and it seems to answer all the conditions. It is very becoming to most men : a few eyelet-holes worked under the fall secure ventilation ; a little padding inside and outside gives a capital protection from the sun ; and a yard of fine curb-chain folded round in a turban for marching order render it almost proof against a sword cut. With one concluding suggestion of the Colonel's we most emphatically concur, which is, " that the officers should have but one description of coat." It is high time for the absurdity of condemning soldiers to carry about three or four different suits of uniform to be done away with.

As we have taken on us the office of critic, we will not shrink from offering our own ideas to be criticised in revenge. Briefly, then, we would suggest a forage cap—not the absurd apology for the same which the 10th Hussars brought into fashion, but such an one as we have described above. The coat should be a handsomely-laced and double-breasted frock, with turn-down collar and neckerchief ; to be worn open, when required, with a waistcoat ; partially opened ordinarily ; and buttoned up when the wearer is in marching order. The newest suit should serve for full dress.

To the subject of military dress we were about to add a few words on military manners, as depicted in two works mentioned at the head of our article ; but find we have been ably and completely anticipated by others. Lucky this for the writers, we must take leave to say ! Admirably as these works have been reviewed, we cannot withhold our decided opinion that critics have been far, very far, too merciful to be just. We look on both books as an offence and a nuisance ; sufficiently well written to be largely read, but calculated to do a large amount of evil, a very small amount of good. To begin, as in duty bound, with the lady :—How clever, but how presumptuous ; how affectionate, but how spiteful ; how pretty, but how scandalous ; how religious, but how thoroughly self-righteous and uncharitable ! Had hers been those mistakes which charming and good persons will sometimes fall into, we would have been silent ; but as a second edition shows no symptom of repentance, we record our protest. Mrs. Mackenzie has fallen into the same error as the writer of a book we before noticed—Oakfield,—which is evidently published with an idea of doing good. There is much in Mr. Arnold's earnestness that attracts our sympathy

and admiration ; but he mistakes a fit of ill-humour with a section of society for a deliberate opinion of society in general. In a fit of disgust at coming across some scum at the top, he seems to regard all but himself and his "school" to be filth, and cannot see that there is plenty of what is clean and bright and good at the bottom ; and this is a state requiring medicine and correction, not encouragement. For the "Wetherbys,"—what shall we say ? No mistaken idea of doing good at any rate here ! With much that shows considerable skill in painting, much cleverness and much vulgarity, the tendency of the book is utterly bad from beginning to end ; and we feel ashamed of ourselves for having been able to read it through, which we confess to have done, and almost without skipping a page.

We think now-a-days there is little need of preaching what at last seems generally acknowledged to be the truth, that a soldier should be something else beyond food for powder. We are inclined to think the tendency of the pendulum (to use Dr. Arnold's image) which so long swung too much one way, is just now to swing too much the other. To affect almost a contempt for "soldiering," to cry down as "mechanical" and "pipe-clay" all the practical part of a soldier's profession,—in short, to consider the scientific part of a soldier's education a substitute for, instead of an accompaniment of, the actual physical development that is required, seems now the fashion. We think literary men are prone to sympathise too much with this tendency, this contempt of thews and sinews. We hope we are not too fanciful, but by way of illustrating what we mean, must say we perceive this in Mr. Macaulay's glorious description of the battle of Landen. At the end of his account he thus writes :—"Never perhaps was the change which the progress of civilisation has produced in the art of war more strikingly illustrated than on that day—Ajax beating down the Trojan leader with a rock which two ordinary men could scarcely lift. \* \* \* \* Such are the heroes of a dark age. In such an age bodily vigour is the most indispensable qualification of a warrior. At Landen two poor sickly beings, who in a rude state of society would have been regarded as too puny to take any part in combats, were the souls of two great armies. It is probable that among the hundred and twenty thousand soldiers who were marshalled round Neerwinden under the standards of Western Europe, the two feeblest in body were the hunchbacked dwarf who urged forward the fiery onset of France, and the asthmatic skeleton who covered the slow retreat of England." This



is all very well ; only be it borne in mind that these two sickly beings had constitutionally powers of endurance and strength of nerve equal to any warrior of any age ; and that it required a very first-rate rider to keep anywhere near the asthmatic skeleton across country.

The late Commander-in-Chief of the Bombay Army deserves a tribute of gratitude for the establishment of the Military School at Poona. We trust it will not be allowed to fall to the ground, but kept going, strictly and in good faith, and it cannot but add much to the efficiency of our officers. We have been a great deal too much behind the scenes to be always in love with the present rage for "passing" examinations on all occasions ; but in some cases the system may be fairly insisted on, with advantage both to the service and to individuals ; and as a case in point, we think some test might fairly and advantageously be made a *sine quâ non*, as indeed in the Company's service we believe it has been, for the Quarter Master General's department. No attainments, however, should be allowed to gloss over regimental inefficiency. The proper spirit of an army cannot be preserved unless efficiency as a soldier is insisted on as a requisite for its ranks. Good clerks are very valuable in their way ; but a man who is only efficient on an office stool has no right to continue his name in the Army List. It is a sham and an imposture ; it is a violation of the eighth Commandment, inasmuch as it is receiving pay for services which cannot be rendered, consequently it is to all intents and purposes stealing money, and not earning it.

We have expressed our want of military Abernethys. We will touch on two points lately very much before the public, which we think the doctor's treatment would at once suit, though in all probability this will be the last to be thought of, or at least attempted. First, then, it is said on all hands—in many instances—no doubt it is a gross exaggeration, but still in others palpably enough true—that our senior officers are so old by the time they get to stations of command, that they are physically disqualified by infirmity for the services required from a Commander ;—that is, the ladder is so long, they are tired before they can get to the top of it. Why not knock a few rungs off the ladder ? Why have such an immense list of Field Officers ? What can thirty subalterns find to do in one European regiment ? Let each regiment have one Field Officer—a Lieutenant-Colonel. Abolish the rank of Major altogether, as a superfluous link in the chain. Let each company have a Captain and a Lieutenant ; and for one-half

the number of companies let there be Ensigns, just sufficient and no more—that is, to ensure each company having always a duly instructed officer for its commander.

The other serious want we would notice is the want of men. We cannot get men to serve in our ranks. Double bounty-money, increased pensions, are offered; still we are at our wit's end for soldiers. Why not have a race of soldiers? With all the improvements that have been made in the soldier's lot,—the diminished frequency of the lash, the abuse of which was so disgraceful in former days, increase of pay, institution of libraries, promotion from the ranks,—still the female element has been utterly and shamefully ignored. We believe no material improvement in the soldier's condition will the least suffice as an allurements to our ranks while the present utterly disgraceful and barbarous regulations regarding women are allowed to continue in force. A regiment is ordered on service: six per cent. of married women are allowed to accompany it, but without the commonest arrangements to ensure simple decency, to say nothing of delicacy or comfort being considered as any part of the regimental economy, a sheet or shawl being in many cases all the separation between the beds of the married and those of the unmarried; and all above this percentage of six women to the hundred of men in the prime of life being ignored altogether. The women who form the surplus may have been married for years—have saved their husbands from many and many a temptation—kept them well and happy when they would in all probability have been drunk and miserable,—there is nothing for it but to cast them adrift on the strand of such places as Portsmouth and Chatham. We see in the newspapers a report of a deputation from Birmingham presenting an address to Lord Panmure on this subject; and all his lordship had to say was to the effect that marriage was discouraged as much as possible, and that was all that could be done! And then three Lieutenant-Colonels must needs sign and send a letter to *The Times* to this same effect! We are no advocates for random marriages; but we deliberately declare that, with a very small amount of authority and management, a large proportion of married men in a regiment need never be feared the least to interfere with its independence and efficiency. Every man of proper age, habits, and conduct, has as much right to the blessing of a wife as any protesting Lieutenant-Colonel. The influence a good commanding officer always has may safely be trusted as quite sufficient check; but the per-centage system of indecency, and the rejection of all

beyond the per-centage, should at once be knocked on the head. Let the thing be properly taken in hand as a piece of army economy, just as clothing is. Let proper, decent arrangements be made for married people in barracks. When a regiment is ordered for service, let a real Head Quarters establishment be assigned for it (not the present filthy *Depôt* system), where all the women and children, sick, recruits, and baggage, are to be properly accommodated, and with proper arrangements for postage and remittances. Here of course would recruiting and drill be going on; here would be a Chaplain and a Paymaster. We will stake our reputation as prophets for ever, that when we give woman her proper place among soldiers, as is accorded to her, in theory at any rate, among all other classes in civilised nations, we shall never want a rising generation of soldiers for our ranks; and that till we do this in a country like England, where character can always command its price in the market of labour,—till we do this, with all our bounty-monies, ribbons, stars, and garters, we shall still find a want of men, still have to lengthen out the glorious “thin red line” by foreign mercenary legions.

We have run clear away from Colonel Luard's book, but we hope not rudely. It is an agreeable, and its illustrations make it a beautiful, work; and no military man should presume to talk about dress before he has made himself acquainted with the Colonel's treatment of the subject. Good dress suggested to us good men, and after having made our remarks upon the one, we could not resist the opportunity of making a few also upon the others.

## ART. VI.—FEMALE EDUCATION IN WESTERN INDIA.

1. *Third Report of the Students' Literary and Scientific Society, and of its Vernacular Branch Societies.* Printed at the "Bombay Gazette" Press, 1852.
2. *Fourth and Fifth Reports of the same Society.* Printed at the "Duftur Ashkara" Press, Bombay, 1853 and 1854.

OF all the subjects which interest and even agitate the public mind in this nineteenth century, none, we think, holds altogether so prominent a place, or occupies so much and such deserved attention, as that of Popular Education. Like all great questions, it has awakened, wherever it has been broached, the most opposite and diverse opinions, and shades of opinions. It has had everywhere, in the first place, its warm friends and its bitter enemies; and each of these great divisions have been subdivided again and again, according to the peculiar feelings, views, and principles of parties and individuals. In England especially, the great question has been fought with a bitterness and rancour peculiar to a free people and a popular Government. But there, as in almost all civilised countries, the battle is over; and although the "ways and means" are still frequently the subjects of debate and contention, the absolute necessity for the education of the masses by some means or other, is almost universally admitted. Some would have education enforced by Government upon a uniform plan; others think it better that Government should not interfere in the matter at all; others again would leave it to Churches and religious sects to educate their own people in their own way; and this, with the additional modification of the grant-in-aid system, appears to be the plan now most generally adopted, not perhaps as being the most perfect in itself theoretically, but as the most practicable under existing circumstances,—the one to which all men can alike subscribe with the least sacrifice of their peculiar principles, opinions, and prejudices.

Here in India, though under very different circumstances, the same great conflict has been maintained, and upon the whole with similar results. The tide of public opinion, both amongst

Europeans and Natives, now sets strongly in favour of general education; and here, as in England, the system of grants-in-aid is the one sanctioned by Government, and most generally adopted and approved. But between its practical working here and in England there is one great distinction.

In all the schools sanctioned by Government throughout England some form of Christianity is taught. The system, indeed, as contrasted with that of Government education upon a uniform plan, was devised for that very purpose. The claim of the national Church, that the people should be educated in her faith, though strongly and reasonably urged, was found in the present state of things impracticable; on the other hand, a system of secular education, which should leave out religion altogether, was repudiated at once by all the right-thinking part of the nation; and any system which should teach just enough religion to include all sects of Christians, excluding none, besides being rejected by the Church as a compromise of her rights and principles, would have reduced the religion taught to a sort of Deism—worse in fact than none at all, and satisfactory to no one. In this state of things, the resolution of Government to aid all who were willing to submit to the visits of its inspectors, and conform to certain regulations which, amongst other advantages, secured a slight degree of pre-eminence to the national Church, and (to a certain extent) soundness in the doctrines taught, appeared the best solution of all difficulties, and was welcomed accordingly by the great body of the nation.

In India, however, the circumstances are different; and a stern necessity, or what it believes to be such, has compelled Government to sanction by its aid a system of secular education without Christianity, as the only one likely at present to find favour generally with the Natives of India. Of course, those schools, missionary or otherwise, where the Christian religion is taught, are not on that account excluded from receiving Government aid, when they require it, and submit to the necessary conditions; but such teaching does not form one of those conditions, as is the case in England.

Into the rights of this question we have now no wish to enter. We confess that it has sometimes struck us that a bolder and more uncompromising policy from the first, in matters of religion, on the part of Government, would both have been more dignified, and also have had a favourable rather than an adverse effect upon the Native mind. It might have been resented for a time;

but eventually the people of India would have had more respect, both for our nation and Government, than they now have. They would have seen that we are in earnest, and really believe that our religion is the only true one. At present a frequent answer to the teaching of missionaries is,—“ You tell us all this ; how is it that the English Government do not believe it ? If they really felt that Christianity was the only religion by which man could be saved from eternal misery after death, how is it that, instead of keeping up our temples and helping us in our worship of false gods, they do not do all in their power to teach us this Christian and only true faith ? ” It seems to us difficult to answer this question ; but as the matter has been decided, we feel that it is the duty of all Englishmen to assist the efforts of Government in forwarding the cause of civilisation, and eventually, we hope, however indirectly, that of Christianity in India.

But in speaking of popular education in this country, we mean, or rather meant until within the last few years, only one part of the population—viz. the males. The very idea of educating the females was altogether ignored ; and so strong were the prejudices of the Natives against anything of the kind, that for years after the English occupation of the country, no efforts appear to have been made to elevate the women of India as a class, or to give them such an education as would fit them for the social position which, as civilisation advances, they must eventually fill. It is impossible that a country can become civilised, in any true sense of the word—it is impossible that the men of a country can have that refinement of feeling and manner necessary to constitute what Europeans call a *gentleman*—whilst they look upon their mothers, wives, and sisters as mere slaves, born only to minister to their wants and wishes, and to be beaten and abused on every trifling occasion. We do not mean that this is always exactly the case with the more educated ; we believe that many of the better sort of Natives treat the women in their households with kindness ; but there can be no sympathy of thought or feeling between them, no companionship ; and the women are still mere household drudges, with out a thought or care beyond the present moment and the petty gossip of the locality in which they reside.

The character given of their women by the Natives themselves, both in published essays and in manuscripts, is in perfect keeping with the state of degradation in which they are kept by their lords and masters ; and although the Shastras do not forbid the education of females, yet they reduce them by their

precepts to a state of such complete degradation and inferiority, that not to educate them becomes a matter of course. Nor is it to be wondered at that the men generally (uneducated as they are), finding their women reduced to a state of such complete bondage and subservience, should desire to keep them in it, and should even make their peculiar vices and follies, caused for the most part by this very state of inferiority and bondage, an excuse for so doing, and for denying to them that education which can alone raise them to a higher position.

It is true that Christianity, once generally introduced and embraced by the Hindus, would exalt their women much more perfectly and satisfactorily than mere teaching in schools can ever do. But that day, however certain its ultimate appearance, does not seem near at hand, and in the mean while mental culture will prepare them for the reception and comprehension of Divine truth. We would not indeed limit the reception of the Gospel to the educated, for we know that it is frequently far otherwise, and that excellent Christians have often been very illiterate people, apparently all the more enlightened on sacred subjects because they have so few earthly ones to disturb their thoughts. But these cases, frequent though they be, are still exceptions to the usual way in which Christianity at the present time finds entrance into the mind; and ordinarily, a certain amount of mental power, and some cultivation and activity of the reasoning faculties, are the means by which Christian truth is understood.

We hope, therefore, that the efforts now making in this Presidency to educate and enlighten the women of the country, as they are in the first instance no doubt the indirect fruits of the influence of Christianity, will, in due time, react upon it in a favourable manner; for whatever may be the case amongst other heathen nations, it seems necessary in this partially-civilised and custom-ridden country, to break down and destroy the old edifice before we can lay the foundations of the new.

Try to get a common native woman to understand the simplest abstract idea; ask her to give a reason for anything she does, common or uncommon, and you will generally find that she cannot. She acts in everything as she has seen others act before her; she has never used the faculty she must have originally possessed, of *thinking*, and it has gone to sleep; and we can imagine that some generations may be required to bring the mental powers once more to a state of healthy activity and energy.

We confess we can conceive no more hopeless task than that of trying to teach Christianity to the old Mussulman ayah, for instance, who takes care of our children. Once we made several attempts to do so, but found it absolutely impossible to make the poor creature understand, or fix her thoughts upon anything not material and tangible. She could not grasp the relations of cause and effect; all the higher powers of her mind were loaded with the rust of generations, and the attempt to brighten them came too late. But with children the case is different; for a few years of their lives their intellect seems to gleam out as if to invite culture. Little native girls of five or six years old are remarkably intelligent—we think almost more so than poor English children of the same age; and this therefore seems the favorable moment—we do not say for implanting knowledge, for that we look upon as only the means to an end, but for stirring up the hard soil of their brains, for giving their minds enough of action and exercise to grow and strengthen upon, instead of dwindling away and drying up, as it were, for want of use.

We have seen in one or two families educated native women, whose whole appearance and manner presented a marked contrast to that of their countrywomen in general. Their understandings had been opened, their curiosity was alive—not the vulgar instinct of inquisitiveness which is strong in all natives, but the healthily-developed curiosity which leads to the desire of knowledge for its own sake. The very features of these native ladies were more refined than usual, and in spite of their colour, dress, and language, we felt able to converse upon equal terms with them, without attempting to bring our thoughts and expressions to a level low enough for their comprehension.

We have said that we look upon the movement for educating and elevating native women as one of the indirect influences of Christianity. We say *indirect*, because it is not an effort, or series of efforts, made by Christians to enlighten and convert the Hindus, but (and we think it more likely to be durable on that very account) it is a movement begun and carried on by the natives themselves, by men educated and influential—not Christians, or their influence would have been gone, and their countrymen would have despised and suspected, instead of being led by them—but by men educated in the Elphinstone or other similar Institutions, where, though Christian faith is not taught, they could not escape inhaling from our law, literature, and morals, some of the spirit of the religion on which these are founded.



It appears that in 1848 the students of various educational establishments in Bombay formed themselves into a Society for mutual improvement, called the "Students' Literary and Scientific Society." It was a part of their plan that the members should compose essays on different subjects, to be read at their periodical meetings; and during the first year many of these essays were on subjects connected with the social condition of women in India. Much interest was thus excited, and curiosity awakened; and at length the enthusiasm of the students responded to an earnest appeal at the conclusion of an essay on Female Education, by Byramjee Cursetjee. It was resolved "on the spot" that a commencement should be made; several members of the Elphinstone Institution volunteered their services as teachers; and on the twenty-second of October 1849, four Parsee and three Maratha schools were opened. At first these seven schools were all taught by the volunteers from the Elphinstone Institution, who could only attend three hours daily; but in a few months, the liberality of some Parsee gentlemen enabled the Managing Committee to appoint regular masters, and from that time the number of pupils began to increase. In the Parsee schools the numbers rose during the year 1850 from 44 to 203, and in six months the Maratha schools increased from 40 to 124. When paid masters were appointed, two of the Parsee schools, being near together, were amalgamated, so that they were reduced to six. Once during the year they were publicly examined, and with satisfactory results, the children having made as much progress as could be expected in reading and other actual studies, and—what is more important—appearing to have acquired a certain amount of intelligent interest in them.

During the following year, 1851, the three Parsee schools continued to flourish, and their numbers were nearly doubled, although a great many children had been withdrawn, partly on account of their betrothals, and partly because, as they grew old, their parents required them at home. In the three Maratha schools, however, there was no increase of the numbers, in consequence of the people's laziness and prejudices. In the Third General Report of the Students' Society we find these words:—

"We have now located all the schools in clean and airy apartments; supplied them with school-furniture, with pictures, with maps, and with school-books compiled expressly for the purpose; placed them under the instructions of intelligent and enthusiastic teachers, and appointed Super-

intendents from among our own body to visit and examine them ;—and what have been the results ?—Disheartening beyond measure, as far as the Hindu portion of the community is concerned. The great majority of the indolent Mahrattas, for whose benefit the greatest exertions have been made, still allow their children to figure in those vulgar exhibitions that are to be so constantly witnessed in the island, of a few wretched urchins huddled together in a dismal room (situated in some squalid gully, without light or air) squatting round a Puntjee, himself half-naked and stupid, and jabbering away mysterious paragraphs in barbarous Mahratti, of which neither they nor the teacher who professes to be able to enlighten them can explain two consecutive sentences."

The Report then goes on to state that at that time the chief objection made to the schools was, that the children were taught too much, and there was a particular distaste for geography, "which," we are told, "is considered by the Hindus as the most dangerous of all sciences to their religion." The writer then contrasts the apathy and prejudice of the Hindus with the enterprise and liberality of the Parsees ; and after giving a very encouraging account of the progress made by the schools of the latter during the year, adds,—“The answering in the Parsee schools in geography, arithmetic, and reading in Gujarati, was most creditable to children of such an age (from six to eleven); but more particularly gratifying was the intelligence of the pupils, and the anxiety plainly visible in their beaming faces to do credit to their teachers by the accuracy of their answers.” As far as progress in knowledge went, however, the pupils in two of the Maratha schools, where the attendance had been regular, made a very creditable appearance, although their prejudiced parents sent them irregularly and unwillingly. The third Maratha school was injured by an incompetent master, as well as a removal which took place during the year from one part of Bombay to another ; and these two causes sufficiently accounted for its unsatisfactory state at the beginning of 1852.

On the sixteenth of June 1851 a new school had been opened. It was designed for the instruction of Hindu girls in Gujarati, and specially of such as belonged to the trading or Banyan castes. Great interest was taken in it by some of the leading Banyan merchants, and in consequence it was soon highly flourishing. We make one more extract from the Report of this year, relating to this new school. After pointing out the great improvement effected in the conduct and manners of the children attending it, the master observes :—“From my own personal observation, it appears to me that most of the girls when they entered the school could not have known whether it was proper or improper

to abuse their masters and parents; and when they were asked whether an abusive term should be used or not, the reply was, that *one ought to have four in return!*" The books and course of instruction in this school are the same as those used in the Parsee schools.

Early in the following year, 1852, a fourth Parsee school was opened at Mazagon. The numbers, however, in the three original schools diminished during the year, so that at its close there were not so many by fourteen in the four schools as during the preceding year there had been in the three. These four, however, continued to be highly efficient, and the numbers, even with this diminution, were double those of the four Hindu schools. In the Maratha schools during the year there was only an increase of eight pupils; but of the two first a highly favorable report was made, and even the third was said to be improving. The Banyan school, from which so much was expected, did not flourish during the year, and from a variety of adverse circumstances the numbers sank from forty-four to twenty-two. Altogether there were 515 girls under instruction on the first of January 1853, and during that year there was a slight increase. We quote a passage from the Report read before the Governor on the twenty-second of April 1854, at the annual examination and distribution of prizes, and which gives in a few words all the information required. "The number of schools under the charge of the Students' Society," we are told, "is eight—namely, four Parsee and four Hindu. The number of girls is 528, viz. 403 Parsees and 125 Hindus. The number of Superintendents of the schools is 16, being selected with due care from amongst the members of the Society. The number of masters is 25. In the Parsee schools, I am happy to say, there are two girls' mistresses. This is a beginning of the most important kind. The localities of the schools are, for the Parsee girls, one in the Fort, one in Chandanwadee, one in Agiagree Lane, and one in Mazagon. This last school has been in existence only during the last two years, and has been supported by the philanthropy of six Parsee gentlemen. The Hindu girls' schools are situate, one in a house in the compound of Juggonath Sunkersetjee, Esquire, one in Simpeewadee, one in Loharchal, and one in Kalbadavie Road." In other respects the schools seem to have been much in the same state as the year before, the progress of the pupils being as satisfactory as could be expected, considering the numerous disadvantages under which all efforts for female education must be carried on in this

country. Since the beginning of 1854 a second Banyan school has been added, making nine schools altogether. At the last public examination, held on the fourth of February 1856, at which the present Governor General was present, there were assembled 654 girls; but we believe that the number actually receiving instruction in the schools of Bombay is nearly a thousand. We have now completed our historical sketch of the rise and progress of female education in Bombay, and before noticing the results of the movement in other parts of the country, will say a few words on points connected with the internal management of the schools themselves.

We see, in the first place, that they were opened by, and have been to a great extent supported and managed by Natives; and it is to this fact that the success of the scheme must in a great degree be attributed. Had the same measures been taken by Europeans, it is probable that no such results would have followed; for the prejudices of the Natives in general against female education are extremely strong, and nothing less than the Brahmanical sanction would have sufficed to reconcile them to the idea. As it was, the difficulties of the undertaking were very great and numerous, and indeed still are so. Among the Hindus especially, the jealousy, prejudices, and fears which must be overcome before the people can be induced to send their little girls, are almost incredible; and even when they do send them, they do it unwillingly and without heartiness, taking every opportunity of keeping them away upon some pretext or other, and never allowing them to remain long enough to profit much by the instruction given them. In reference to these subjects we quote a passage at random from the Report for 1853, page 20, as a specimen:—"From the following statement it will be perceived that one-third of the whole number of pupils were newly admitted during the year, an equal number of the old ones having left; and it still continues to be a matter of deep regret that there is no improvement in the regularity of attendance, the general rate of attendance being about fifteen days within a month." Again, on the same page we find the following:—"It is to be lamented, however, that just at the age at which the advanced girls have begun to enjoy their studies, and their intellect to develop, they shall in all probability be removed shortly from the school."\* These two

\* By way of accounting for the use of the auxiliary verb in the above sentence, we would observe that the learned Secretary of the Society was an Irish gentleman.

passages were intended to refer more particularly to the Maratha School No. 1, but we find the same complaint continually repeated with reference to all the schools; and in spite of prizes for regular attendance, and every effort that can be made to counteract the evil, it still remains a drawback and hindrance to entire success. The girls are generally removed when about eleven years of age. We find on one occasion the average age of the girls in the first class of the Parsee School No. 1 to be nine years, and in another school the average standing of the first class girls is two and a half years.

Besides the more obvious causes for this premature removal of the children, such as early marriages and the demand for their services at home, there is another of some importance—viz. that the schools are all conducted by men. A few attempts have been made on several occasions to employ the elder girls as monitors, and we find here and there scattered through the Reports favourable notices of them; but upon the whole, the plan does not seem to have succeeded, and female superintendence still remains a desideratum, which under present circumstances it seems difficult to supply. On this subject we find the following passage in the Fourth Report of the Students' Society, p. 11 :—  
“The great drawback at present evidently is, that with the slight exceptions just adverted to, all instruction of the schools is conducted, superintended, and planned by men. While this continues we cannot perhaps reasonably expect that children will be allowed to continue in our schools to a more advanced age than that at which they are generally removed at present—viz. between the age of ten and twelve, at which time of life the education of girls in European countries may be said to have scarcely commenced.”

One or two other subjects should be slightly noticed before we proceed. In the first place, the girls in the schools managed by the Students' Society are all of tolerably high caste; the lowest castes not being, we believe, admitted. However much we may regret that there should be these exclusions, we can scarcely wonder at them. We ought never to forget that the schools are essentially Native; and whilst we English so far give way to Native prejudices as to sanction the exclusion of low caste people from the benefits of railway travelling, we cannot expect a more enlightened and liberal system at the hands of the Natives themselves. We are glad to hear, however, that separate schools exist for low castes in Bombay. From a Table given in the Society's Fifth Report, for the

purpose of showing the proportions of castes in the Hindu schools, we find there are forty-four Maratha Purbhoos and one Guzerathi Purbhoo, eight Maratha and three Guzerathi Brahmans, twenty-six Shenvis, seventeen Sonars, twenty-eight Banyans, and thirty-seven Shimpees. Of other castes the numbers are insignificant; so that Purbhoos and Shimpees or tailors appear most alive to the advantages of female education. But as it is difficult to ascertain the numerical proportions of the different castes in Bombay, and as the situation of the schools (one we know being in Shimpeewadee) and other local influences may have a great deal to do with this result, we cannot draw from it any general conclusions.

We have now a few words to say about the means by which the schools are supported. A great deal was done, particularly at first, by the liberality of Native gentlemen; and in the number to be thus honourably mentioned we would include those young and voluntary teachers who, persevering in their difficult undertaking for so many months at the expense of time and energies—more valuable than money,—not only inspired confidence in the minds of the people, and assisted in breaking through their prejudices, but also enabled the Society to open the schools at a very trifling cost, and wait until a certain measure of success had given them a claim to public support. We have already mentioned the liberality of the four Parsec gentlemen who enabled the Society to place paid teachers over the schools for two years. This period has long since expired, but the establishments have always been supported, and still are, by voluntary contributions; so that Government, finding them prosper so well without their assistance, do not think it advisable at present to set aside any part of the grant-in-aid fund for their support. From some of the Reports we find that the schools have not been altogether free from pecuniary troubles and difficulties; but we can scarcely believe that either the European or Native population of Bombay will ever allow these genuine fruits of advancing civilisation among the inhabitants of India to fall and decay for want of adequate support.

Regarding such schools as, in imitation of the example set at Bombay, have been established in other large towns of Western India, we must content ourselves with giving a few particulars, enlarging only upon those which appear especially interesting or important.

The first we shall mention is that at Tanna, which is an off-shoot from the schools of Bombay, and under the same manage-

ment. It appears that in March 1852 a non-official deputation of the Committee of the Students' Society visited this town at the request of some members who resided there, and after consulting with the more influential of the inhabitants, in the Native Library, resolved to open three schools, two for Gujarati and one for Maratha children. House-room was secured on the same day; Puntajees for collecting the girls were engaged; half a dozen young men, students and ex-students of the Government English School, volunteered their services as teachers, and a Committee of Superintendence was organised. Subscriptions were raised, books and maps supplied by the Students' Society, and all prospered for the first few months. But although the progress made by the girls was satisfactory to the members of the Committee, who twice visited and examined the schools, and although great interest was taken in them by the English residents, before the end of one year the number of pupils had so greatly diminished, that "the few girls" who remained in February 1853 "were all taught in a room in the Government School-house, where at first the Parsee girls alone used to meet;" and now there is but one school, numbering only fifteen pupils. It is difficult to account for this, or to understand why the Natives of Tanna are more reluctant to join the march of intellect than those of many other places which are about equal in size and much further removed from the seat of Government. In the absence of all data on which to form an opinion, the only reason we can assign for the difference is, that at Tanna, instead of being the spontaneous growth of the soil, the idea was an importation from Bombay—an influence from without, instead of a necessity which had been felt and acknowledged. All the schools we have thus noticed were established by, and are under the management of the Students' Society of Bombay.

But the scheme once put into practice, was soon enthusiastically caught up, and the example zealously followed wherever any number of newly-educated and enlightened Natives were to be found. At no place were this enthusiasm and zeal more conspicuous than at Poona, where, as at Bombay, the schools were at first conducted by volunteer teachers, and great efforts made to equal, and even improve, the system; some instruction in English being given as well as in the vernacular. The first school was opened in July 1851, and a second almost immediately after. The attendance at both in February 1852 amounted to forty girls. During the ensuing year the Committee, fearing that the

finances of the schools might receive a serious blow owing to the departure of Sir Erskine Perry, who had very liberally aided in supporting them, applied to the Committee of the Duxna Fund for a grant; and, as we are told, "the ready and liberal response from the Duxna Committee to an appeal on behalf of the schools, removed every apprehension, and enabled the School Committee to establish a third school in Peit Vitul, the southern quarter of the city."\*

The number of girls taught at the three schools in February 1853 was 237; the average attendance being about 200. Since that time the institutions have not advanced in anything like the same ratio, the number being still three, and the pupils about two hundred. At Belgaum, though a large town, with many Europeans in its neighbourhood, the greatest opposition has been made to the establishment of female schools, so that a year ago there was nothing of the kind there; while Dharwar, a comparatively unimportant place about forty miles distant, could boast of a very flourishing one, with about forty pupils. Meetings had more than once been convened at Belgaum by former Collectors, and plans made for the purpose, but they had all fallen to the ground; nor until September 1855 was a Native female school regularly established there. The higher castes, however, still refuse to send their daughters to be taught by men, and the opposition continues so great, that only sixteen girls, none of them Brahmanees, attend. But these circumstances, which at first sight appear so adverse, have given rise to one on many accounts both significant and encouraging:—the educated mother, wife, and daughter of a Native gentleman, a Brahman, who holds a high office under Government, have taken up the cause, and not only use all their influence in persuading their Native friends to cast off their prejudices and educate their daughters, but in order to meet the objection of the higher castes to male tuition, have consented to carry on a school under their own superintendence, and in their own house, the daughter herself being the mistress. She has now a class of seventeen little Brahmanee girls daily receiving instructions at her hands, assisted by her mother and grandmother; and thus, including the sixteen before mentioned, there are thirty-three girls in the two schools of Belgaum. We think this fact deserving of notice, both on account of its novelty, and also because we hope that it is the first fruits of a large harvest of similar efforts on the part of the women of India.

\* Report of Examination Poona Female Schools, 1853.



In a few other places also the great cause of female education has been taken up. At Rutnagherry there is a school with thirty pupils, one at Sholapore with seventy-five, one at Surat with forty, one at Ahmednuggur—all supported by private subscriptions. There are also three Native female schools at Ahmedabad, containing four hundred girls, and supported by Native gentlemen.

To avoid repetition we have purposely refrained from mentioning the books and course of instruction pursued in each set of schools separately, as they are nearly the same in all. We will now quote one or two passages from the Reports, in order to show what sort of education the sons of India are endeavouring to give her daughters. Our first example shall be taken from the Report on the Parsee School No. 1, in the Fort of Bombay. We find that the first class were examined in December 1853 in the Moral Class Book as far as page 110, in the Balmitra or "Children's Friend" up to page 121, and in the Guzerathi Reader to page 49; and also in the geography of Europe and Asia. "The pupils," we are told, "read and explain the Guzerathi Reader imperfectly, but in the Balmitra they are well off. In dictation they acquitted themselves better than many grown-up persons. In general knowledge their proficiency is creditable. In geography they are not so much advanced as they ought to be. The working in Berlin wool of some of the pupils was very nice. Composition pretty good." The girls of the second class were examined in the Dnyan Bodhak or "Knowledge Imparter;" those of the third class in the same work, and those of the lower classes were at various stages of learning to read, write, and spell. All the children were pretty well advanced in arithmetic, the first class doing simple multiplication and division, and the rule of three; while the last was of course learning to count. School No. 2, in Chundunwadee, seems to have been still more advanced; the ages of the pupils in the first class varied between seven and twelve years, and their studies are thus given:—"Balmitra to page 250, Vachan Patmala to page 75. Outlines of grammar, geography of India, Berlin-wool works, gallery lessons, letters-writing, stories and songs. In arithmetic the girl monitor has advanced as far as decimals; four girls know vulgar fractions, and one simple division." The Report goes on to say,—“We were much satisfied with the general appearance of the school. The children displayed habits of order and cleanliness in a remarkable degree, and they all seemed cheerful and active. In reading, the whole class acquitted itself well. Questions put on

subjects in their text-books were answered very satisfactorily. They also answered all the questions on foreign subjects without failure. . . . Their knowledge of geography was very vague and imperfect," &c.

In the Marathi schools we find almost the same books, in Maratha instead of Guzerathi translations, with the addition of *Æsop's Fables*. "The girls of the first class acquitted themselves with ease in reading, parsing easy and simple sentences, in pointing out most of the countries and the capital towns of Asia on maps, and in working out simple questions in the rule of three." Needle-work is also taught. The following is a list of studies in which the first class of the Poona school were examined in 1853 :—" *Æsop's Fables* (new edition); *Renunishedheek* (*Evils of Debt*), 50 pages; *Catechism of the History of the Mahrattas*, 60 pages; rudimentary lessons in grammar; parsing; general acquaintance with the maps of India and Asia; dictation; arithmetic as far as the rule of three; mental arithmetic. In addition to these, the pupils had occasional lessons in sewing from a tailor." In most of these studies the progress of the pupils was pronounced "very good" or "very fair" by the examiners.

Of the books mentioned, many are obviously translations from well-known European school books. Some, however—the first, second, and third reading books called *Dnyan Bodhak* or *Knowledge Imparter*, for instance—are original compilations published for the purpose by the Students' Society at Bombay. Amongst the translations we were amused and surprised to find our old French friend *Berquin's "L'Amie des Enfants"* in its Eastern dress; and this is but one instance of many to prove the popularity of this excellent work, originally written for French children, and consisting of little moral stories and plays, apparently interesting only to the boys and girls of civilised Europe. This small and unpretending volume has become the class-book of the world, and its beautiful Maratha translation creates as great an interest in the minds of the little girls of India as in those of France, England, and Italy. We are rather sorry to see so much time spent upon, and prominence given to *Berlin-wool* work, whilst all kinds of plain sewing are comparatively neglected and lightly esteemed. We find the same thing slightly noticed in one or two of the Reports. For instance, in that for 1853 we read, with reference to the Maratha schools,—“During the last year needle-work has been introduced, superintended by a tailor

employed for the purpose. In this, however, little or no progress is made. A good deal of the time of the girls appears to have been spent in Berlin-wool ; but even amongst grown-up girls I could not meet with a specimen of a few plain neat stitches which a girl of even five years old might be expected to do." We agree with the writer of the Report in the superior importance of the few plain, neat stitches ; but we imagine there is, as usual, some kind of caste jealousy or feeling about this. The Hindus look upon it as beneath any one but a *derzie* to do plain work, and indeed dislike useful employment of any kind, especially for their women, unless it is the particular calling of the caste. Fancy-work being a kind of accomplishment or amusement, is not open to the same objection in Native eyes, and indeed it is certainly much better than nothing, and has its uses both in interesting the mind and teaching dexterity in the use of the fingers.

From all that has been stated, we think that the friends of female education in India have much to encourage them. Somewhat under two thousand girls are now receiving instruction in this Presidency, where seven years ago no general plan of female education had been proposed, and where it was then confined to the few girls taught in missionary establishments.

We know that many objections may be made to this kind of secular education ; that many of the best friends of Native education are inclined to cavil at it in this form. " If the Native women are to be taught," say they, " why not give them education in the best form ; why not make a great effort, engage good mistresses, teach them boldly everything that it most concerns humanity to know ? Why repeat the mistake already made in the education of the men, and raise up a people who, deprived of their own faith, can take refuge in no other ?" But it is much easier to talk than to act ; and whilst many can hold forth on this theme in the most convincing manner, nothing can be done. The thing is not possible. The children would not be sent to the schools on such conditions ; and if they were on any other, we think it would be questionable morality to teach them what it is the direct and expressed will of their parents that they should not know. Besides, the mistake, if such it is, has been made. The men of influence are already sufficiently imbued with European ideas to desire the education of the women ; and it is from them that the movement in its favour has originated. Shall we now, having taught them so far what is right, draw back from the natural consequences of our teaching ? Will our doing so remedy the

• love of display, the tendency to *cram*, and all the other imperfections so constantly urged against the schools? The Natives *will* advance now, whether we wish it or not. Had we not better watch, encourage, and, as far as possible, direct the movement, instead of leaving it to their unassisted and undirected efforts?

. There is another consideration, too, which should not be forgotten. Endeavours have been made by missionaries, English, Scotch, German, and American, to convert the Hindus through the medium of schools, but with little success, for the first conversion threatens the school with ruin; and a German missionary not long ago confessed to us that his brethren were unable, and indeed unwilling, to make any attempts at converting the children in their schools on that very account. They could only do what is being done in the schools we have been discussing,—endeavour to awaken the intellects and enlighten the minds of their pupils, and trust that, having thus been led to abandon gradually their own superstitions, they, or at least their children, will be more ready at some future time to receive and embrace the truths of Christianity. We do not ourselves much dread the imaginary picture of an infidel nation. Such, we hope and believe, cannot last. It would be as it has been before,—a nation in a transition state. But believing as we do that eventually the truth will prevail in India and in all the world, we hail the advancement of civilisation, the gradually decreasing influence of caste, and the abandonment of old prejudices and superstitions; for all these are tending, under the good providence of God, to the same great end. Conversion in India must be promoted amongst adults by steady and persevering preaching—and even this will not, we fear, be very successful with this generation; “to preach the Gospel” is a duty committed to the Church on earth, and results are in the hands of God. But any attempts to institute schools in which Christianity must be taught would be fatal to female education; for the Natives in general so little feel the advantages of knowledge, that they would never on its account alone expose their daughters to the risk of conversion.

The other real objection made to these schools (and it is one which weighs both with Europeans and Natives), is the want of female superintendence and instruction; but to obtain this must be the work of time. When we consider all the difficulties of the case, we do not conceive that it would be possible or desirable to procure English mistresses for *all* these schools; and although one might be usefully employed at the head of a normal school

in Bombay, even that one might rouse the jealous suspicion of the Natives so as to prevent them from sending their little girls. Under these circumstances we must wait until there are a few more educated women in the country willing and able to instruct others; and we do not despair of seeing the example already set at Belgaum, and we hear also at Nuggur, pretty generally followed in a few years. Meanwhile, such efforts on the part of Indian ladies should be encouraged to the uttermost. The good work once begun by themselves, it is our part and duty to aid, direct and guide them in it, and by no means to check or discourage the ardour of our Native friends. True, their motives may be defective and their works imperfect, but with our purer religion and clearer light, we may gradually do much to correct what is amiss, and supply what is deficient. Let us use the means at our disposal, and not sit down idly to lament that they are no better. We may blame Government for this, or the Natives for that; but are unable to modify the actions of either. We can, after all, only take things as they are, and use them; but let each of us be quite sure that we *do* use them, honestly and well.

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ART. VII.—SIR ERSKINE PERRY'S "BIRD'S-EYE  
VIEW OF INDIA."

*A Bird's-Eye View of India, with Extracts from a Journal kept in the Provinces, Nepal, &c.* By SIR ERSKINE PERRY, M.P., late Chief Justice of Bombay. Fcap. 8vo. London: Murray, 1855.

NOT the least of literary evils in this book-making age is the enormous quantity of trash inflicted upon a rather good-natured, much-enduring public, in the shape of what the publishers are pleased to call (in grave irony surely) "light works of travel"! Physicians with their "holidays," lawyers with their "vacation rambles," students with their "excursions and pedestrian journeys," and the herd of idle tourists "without number numberless,"

that rush into print, giving their impression on anything and everything, have enveloped in a wilderness of commonplace, whatever is worth knowing or seeing in almost every country, whether in the old world or the new.

India, which hitherto in great measure has escaped this literary pestilence, is now fast becoming a prey to it; and one cannot but contemplate with something like dismay the rapid increase of frivolous books bearing such titles as "*Days and Years in the East*," "*Winter Tour in India*," "*Scramble in Scinde*," &c. that have within the last few years been published in such profusion. The most recent specimen of the class to which we refer that has come under our notice, is the "*Bird's-Eye View of India*" by Sir Erskine Perry; a reason apparently for the publication of which is, that it is meant for the special use and guidance of the class of writers on India most to be deprecated,—"*the traveller who should contemplate a three or four months' trip in India*," and who of course writes about everything, sees everything, through a false medium, and misrepresents everything.

Good books on India—written by competent persons having the requisite knowledge, with the will and leisure to use it for illustrating the character of Indian institutions, the manners, customs, and life of the Indian people—are greatly wanted; and our chief quarrel with the class of books we have been specially referring to, is not only that this is not done, though attempted by them, but that their production has the mischievous effect of preventing it being done by others; for the number of silly and ignorant publications about India disgust people with the whole subject, so that when a really good book makes its appearance, it is not likely to invite the attention of the public.

The announcement of a work on India by the late Chief Justice of Bombay, though little calculated to raise in a community which knew him well any high expectations of its value to Indian literature, yet no doubt excited some curiosity amongst us, and caused us to speculate as to whether the contents would illustrate sundry crotchets and opinions which the author had previously expressed.

Sir Erskine has long been a candidate for distinction, and has tried to obtain it in various ways. Whether animated by a desire for fame in the comparatively pure form which Milton celebrates as

"That last infirmity of noble minds,"

or under influences more genial to "*sinful clay*," we do not undertake to determine; but the fact itself is certain. He has *done* a portion of Savigny into English, indited letters

on Law Reform to his friend "plain John,"\* engaged in educational controversies with missionaries, elaborated educational Reports, and laboriously edited a selection of his decisions in the Supreme Court of Bombay, for the special enlightenment of such as are not initiated into the mysteries of Oriental life and the application of "English Law to India." Relying upon his Indian experience, he has appeared before Committees of both Houses of Parliament to give evidence on Indian subjects, has stood up in his place in the House of Commons to advocate Indian Reforms on similar grounds, and now he comes before us as the writer of a book about India, claiming attention mainly on account of his personal acquaintance with the country and people.

Sir Erskine, however, has not commanded "success" in dealing with the various subjects we have enumerated; nor, we fear, can it be said that he has in all cases "deserved it." His labours on Savigny have not perhaps materially aided in extending a knowledge of that great jurist's writings, nor have his lucubrations on Law Reform produced much practical result; but the efforts, such as they were, are at least praiseworthy. The educational measures of Sir Erskine and his coadjutors have been less satisfactory. The rigid investigation to which the system they so lauded and upheld has been recently subjected, will, we have reason to believe, only confirm, when the reports of the examiners are made public, what was previously suspected by most persons,—that the whole thing has been little better than a system of cramming and sham. The "CASES ILLUSTRATIVE OF ORIENTAL LIFE" will be found, as *regards Oriental life*, rather to illustrate the author's vanity; and as to the applications of Law, we believe

\* Some of our readers will no doubt remember the occasion on which the present Lord Chief Justice of England, Lord Campbell, took to himself the sobriquet of "Plain John" which has ever since stuck to him. When Attorney General and the "rejected of Dudley," he appeared before the citizens of Edinburgh as a candidate to represent them in Parliament on the elevation of Jeffrey to the Scottish Bench. The Whig placemen were rather in bad odour, and the learned Attorney General, when anxiously feeling his way with the electors, deprecated his being looked upon as a high and knighted legal functionary and a member of H. M.'s Government,—“he wished the humble individual who was soliciting their suffrages merely to be thought of as ‘plain John Campbell.’”

Curiously enough, the first public appearance of our late eminent Governor General was in a contest, with the then Sir John Campbell, six months afterwards, for the representation of the City of Edinburgh in Parliament. Party spirit ran high—Lord James Ramsay, just fresh from College, belonged to the Tory party, then very unpopular, and was jeered at by the mob as the "Boy Ramsay," though the ability he displayed in the stormy area of a hustings, even at that early age, showed he was no common person. The Boy Ramsay has since then shot ahead of "plain John" in the race of statesmanship.

there is nothing special or peculiar about any of them, if we except the notorious cases of gambling in opium, which excited so much attention on account of the enormous sums at stake. Sir Erskine was wont rather to pride himself on these, as he was singular amongst the Judges in India for the opinion which he held, and which was afterwards confirmed on appeal to the Privy Council, when they reversed the decision arrived at by the Supreme Court of Bombay.

Judging from the recent public career of our late Chief Justice, we conclude that a leading object of his ambition is to have himself looked upon as an authority at home on India and Indian subjects. On every fitting opportunity he is careful to proclaim the extent of his Indian service, and the opportunities he has had of acquiring knowledge and information about Indian institutions and Indian people. On his first public appearance in England after his return from India, before the Lords' Committee on Indian Territories, he stated that he had been “nearly twelve years a Judge in the Supreme Court of Bombay, and five and a half years of the period Chief Justice.” He informed the Commons' Committee more in detail, that “during the eleven and a half years I was in India, I used to occupy all the vacation-time I had, which was very considerable, in going about different parts of India, passing through the country, generally speaking, at marching pace, twelve or fourteen miles a day. I took all possible opportunities of going about to visit the Law Courts, and become acquainted, as I necessarily should, with the members of the Judicial Service of India.” His peculiar knowledge of the Judicial Service and the Honourable Company's Law Courts was very fully displayed in the evidence he gave before the Parliamentary Committees abovementioned—evidence which, whether we consider the caricature it drew of the judicial procedure in the Mofussil districts of the Bombay Presidency, or the sapient suggestions made for its reform, may safely be characterised as the most *curious* given on the occasion before the Committee of either House of Parliament.

The public appearances of Sir Erskine in the House of Commons on Indian subjects, whether relating to education, the Indian Army, the use of torture in the collection of revenue, or the annexation of Native States, have not been particularly happy as displays either of special knowledge regarding the questions themselves, or of aptitude and wisdom in his mode of handling them.

When we come to test the much-vaunted knowledge and experience of India by an examination of the “*Bird's-Eye View*,”



the result, we are sorry to say, is infinitely worse. It would be difficult, we believe, to discover anywhere, in the same brief space, so much of conceit, half knowledge, erroneous assumptions, and crude opinions, as we find crammed into this little volume. Why Sir Erskine should have published it at all, is a puzzle to us. Surely, it argued little of the "wisdom of the serpent" on his part when he enabled his opponents to judge of his Indian experiences from a volume in almost every page of which blunders and crudities of all sorts are displayed. He tells us in the Preface with rather slovenly English (of which the work itself abounds in numerous examples), that he had *purported* to deliver the substance of the first portion in two lectures to his constituents at Devonport. The compilation of which the first part consists would have been all very well if designed as an evening's amusement for the citizens of Devonport, according to the fashion of such entertainments which is at present in vogue; but it by no means follows that the same matter is equally suitable for separate publication. When a lecturer commits his opinions to print, he challenges the approval of a very different audience, and becomes amenable to a more searching tribunal.

A new book on India that presents nothing original, either in matter or manner, but hashes up the known and the familiar with merely their form and colour changed by the compiler, is not wanted, and is an evil, in so much as it adds another useless book to the too many of a like character already in existence. But when such a compilation is made with that self-sufficiency so characteristic of the half knowledge which is more mischievous in its results than no knowledge, the evil is enormously exaggerated. We deliberately pronounce the "*Bird's-Eye View of India*" to be a work of this character.

The *Journal of a Tour in the Upper Provinces, Oude, Nepaul, and thence to Calcutta*—the portion of this work which professes to be original—would appear to have been, when seen through the magnifying glasses of the journalist, deficient neither in interest nor value. Here is his own summing up of the whole:—

"I have learnt to know the Rajputs in their most honoured localities; the Mussalmans of Oude in their fertile, but disorganised kingdom; and the active and thriving Gorkhas in their mountain fastnesses. I have seen nearly all the fine architectural remains of Upper India, and at the holy Benares, at Muttra, Bindrabund, and Ayodhia. I have seen Hinduism and its operations in their most developed state. Above all, I have seen such a phase of the Himalaya as to efface every other scene of mountain magnificence which I had before witnessed. Living, moreover, almost exclusively with civilians, I have been enabled to study with some care

the workings of Government in the North-West Provinces and in Bengal; and, on the other hand, the coming in contact with indigo planters and grantees, has given me some little inkling as to the manner of man which characterises this class.”

Now, we must say it is too bad in Sir Erskine to tantalise us by thus vaunting of his tour and its magnificent results, and then, after placing the record of it even before us, not to exhibit a single passage bearing out the description with which he concludes. Not only do we learn nothing (*from him at least*) of the Rajputs “in their most honoured localities,” “of the Mussalmans of Oude in their fertile, but disorganised kingdom,” “the Gorkhas in their mountain fastnesses,” but even on the subjects of “Hinduism and its operations in their developed state,” “the architectural remains of Upper India,” “the scenery and phases of the Himalayas,” we do not meet with a note worthy of remark, or anything which is not meagre and commonplace.

In truth, we should have wondered if it had been otherwise. A person travelling across India shut up in a palanquin or bullock cart, and ignorant of all its languages, might have jogged on *five years*, instead of five months, without adding very materially to our knowledge of any Indian subject. After all, we are not sure that Sir Erskine’s “friend” Sir Willoughby Cotton was very far wrong when he spoke facetiously of his going through “a thousand miles of jungle, without gaining a new idea.”

Though we deem it a duty to state thus candidly our sincere opinion of the book before us, we by no means wish to be understood as affirming that it does not contain anything good. Not a little to be found in it is both interesting and amusing, though our space, we fear, will not permit us to give many extracts. One of the most prominent developments which the book exhibits of Sir Erskine’s creed on Indian matters, is his profound reverence for Brahmans and Brahmanism. We meet with it in one shape or another at almost every page. Prosaic, even dull, as he is on many subjects, on this he is generally animated, and, for him, even eloquent. We have the Brahman exhibited to us from two points of view. One we may term the picturesque view; in this Brahmans appear as met with on *tours*, “dignified in bearing,” and, though probably living off a revenue of a few shillings a month, with their calm intellectual expression of countenance, and their graceful drapery hanging classically from their shoulders, arousing in his mind a vivid idea of what might have been the appearance of a Greek philosopher of the age of Plato! At another time the Brahman is represented as pious, self-denying, cultivating learning, “disregarding

worldly advantages," acting as a "gratuitous instructor and counsellor of his countrymen." And again he appears as a beneficent dispenser to Sir Erskine's Purvoo and Captain of Horse of sugar-canes—"a man devoted to good works," with a smile full of kindness of heart, "scorning dirty sixpences offered in payment."

As a set-off to this, there is unfortunately the exhibition of the Brahman from the Supreme Court point of view, which is certainly not quite so attractive:—"Sitting in the Supreme Court, and obtaining the close view of the springs of action among a people that criminal procedure affords, whenever any very ingenious and complicated piece of roguery came before me, I immediately began to inquire what Brahman was at the bottom of it, and it rarely occurred that I was wrong in my conjecture."

Those who have most knowledge of Brahmans and Brahmanism will affirm that there is more of truth in the last picture than the first. So far from Brahmans being the gratuitous, bountiful dispensers of knowledge to their countrymen that Sir Erskine would wish to make out, it is notorious that they have ever been monopolists in knowledge, and, whenever they could, kept their knowledge from the foolish ignorance.

Having thus done ample justice to his friends the Brahmans, our author describes their women in the following passage, which we think will bear out his old reputation, earned in Bombay, of being a *gallant*, as well as a learned, Knight:—

"The women, with their elegantly-turned limbs and small hands and feet, all displayed with liberal profusion to admirers of the nude, may vie with those of any country in the world for symmetry; and I know not a more picturesque sight than a river near some Brahman village, such as Wabi in the Deccan, to which Hindoo maidens are resorting for the purpose either of bathing or fetching water. In the former case, it is remarkable to observe with what virgin purity the whole operation of bathing and changing the dress are effected in the face of the whole village. A Brahman girl puts on a clean robe every day, and the river is entered with everything on, so that the toilette as well as the belle receive ablution at the same time; while, on emerging from the stream, the dry clothes left on the bank are artistically arranged for putting on, and in the twinkling of an eye the wet dress drops from beneath the Sâri or flowing robe which the maiden puts on at the same moment. This Sâri, which is the universal dress of a Hindoo female, consists of a very long, narrow robe, often twenty or thirty yards long, which, after being first bound round the waist, is tacked up—one end of it behind, whilst the other end is thrown gracefully over the shoulder. In addition to this, in Western India, they wear a short spencer called a chuli, covering the bosom, but leaving the greater part of the arms, and the body down to the waist, bare. They wear nothing on their heads but native flowers; and the graceful *coiffure à la Grecque* is universal.

» The dress altogether is most becoming, and when in full costume,

with a handsome Sári, a Hindoo girl coming from the well, with a vase of water on her head, has often reminded me of an ancient Caryatid, or of the finest draped figure of antiquity, the *Pallas di Velletri*.”

After reading Sir Erskine's flattering account of Brahmans, our readers will not be much surprised to learn that their religion has at least an *equal* share of his admiration. The passages throughout the volume referring to it are numerous, and all are pitched in the same laudatory key. It is more than once spoken of as “a beneficent religion,” and he tells us “it is impossible not to admire a faith which dictates, and the self-sacrifice which has always produced in the Hindu system, a devotion to things divine, and a performance of acts generally beneficial to mankind, untinged by any ordinary worldly motive.”

The reasons for these opinions, when any are given, must be allowed to be rather of a frivolous character, and can hardly be dealt with seriously. They are such as might be expected from a person on a sort of Dr. Syntax's Tour, looking at things mainly through the picturesque medium, and therefore—though it is not a little amusing to hear of the Hindu pilgrim being rapturously spoken of as beneficent solely on the ground of there being plenty of temples everywhere, so that “to the present Hindu in every village there is an hotel in the shape of a temple, where he will find lodgings, good company, picturesque travellers, occasionally water, and no doubt, if he is in actual want, food”—it need hardly cause much surprise. *The Dhurumsala aspect* of Hinduism seems to have laid special hold on Sir Erskine's fancy. Many of our readers will no doubt remember how he showed his zeal on this subject so ardently, at the expense of his good sense, by prescribing as a theme for a Prize Essay to Native students, “the advantages which would result to India by the establishment of a Dhurumsala or public bungalow in London, with compounds, wells, &c. suitable for travellers”!

Our author, with much condescension and mock modesty, suggests to his friends the missionaries a new place for the more successful prosecution of their labours for the conversion of Hindus, and the counteraction of Brahmanical influence. He writes:—

“I have often thought, indeed, that the most successful course for Christian missionaries to adopt in order to counteract Brahmanical influence, would be to seat themselves down in Hindoo villages, away from European establishments, and to adopt the simple living and inexpensive habits of the Brahman; if then, by previous studies of the arts and sciences of Europe, especially of medicine and astronomy, they could put themselves in a position to render more useful services to the population than Brahmans now

afford, this self-devotion and utility would secure for them a position and an influence which they certainly have not yet obtained. I am aware that sacrifices like these, though they may be made at times under strong impulses by individuals such as Xavier or Schwartz, cannot fairly be expected from any profession of men, or for a continued period; but I point out that the Hindoo system undoubtedly produces them, and that missionaries have to compete for spiritual influence with a body of men all over India who, with more or less purity of life, have made themselves exemplary among their fellows."

This is simply an impertinence, and not very creditable to the author; but the subject is not one that can be advantageously discussed, and would be as much out of place in our pages as the quotation above given is in the work under review.

Sir Erskine confesses that Brahmins have a *shady side*, and with the aid of his friend the late Professor Green, he lifts the veil from before them by giving an account of certain ceremonies; but when showing some dark phases of Hinduism, he merely intends to illustrate the potency of Hindu faith, and the physical suffering which individuals undergo to manifest it! The account in question is interesting, but written in a spirit of too much flippancy for a subject so painful and revolting. Probably, missionaries will find little favour in Sir Erskine's eyes, even for their literary labours; but if he is really anxious for any information in addition to Professor Green's statement, he will find this matter discussed, with fuller knowledge in every way, in the interesting account of Jejuri recently published by the Rev. Murray Mitchell.

It would be somewhat tedious to ourselves, as we have no doubt it would be to our readers, were we to follow Sir Erskine with a comment on his journey and his journals, through Guzerat, Rajputana, the North-west Provinces, and Nepal, to Calcutta. Most journalists in such circumstances generally contrive to illustrate themselves a great deal better than the countries they travel through, and the "Bird's-Eye View" is no exception to this general rule. The author himself seems to have had misgivings on this head. He confesses that he "does not find it a very exciting or a very instructive life," but pleads that "after all, it is as good as an evening spent at the esplanade or band at Bombay."

The visit to the Court of the Gaekwar is not very happily described, though an effort to be lively and smart is visible enough; and the taste of one passage, reflecting on persons who occupied at the time the highest place in Bombay society, is anything but commendable.

In the following passage Sir Erskine tells us some of the many things he can do, and of something that he cannot do :—

“December 5th.—Aspar, twenty-four miles. I roused up my people at 3½ A. M., in order to make a morning march, and arrive earlier at camp. I found my Purvoo Captain of Horse already up, and I got a good lesson from him. The only serious inconvenience I have met with is the difficulty of finding a snug, cosy corner for a bath. *I can read, write, eat, and sleep before an admiring mob with sang froid, but the little ineffable mysteries of bathing require for my taste privacy*, though Hindus, men and women, bathe freely before the world, and the latter with the utmost delicacy. But I am straying from my morning's hint, which was, finding the Purvoo bathing himself by moonlight, I immediately followed the same practice, and have given orders for a large chatty of water to be put by my bedside every night for early morning's use.”

On leaving Rajputana he favours us with his opinion on the effects of Native rule, so far as it had come under his observation in the Native States he had passed through, and his words are not without interest as coming from one who professes to be a stickler for upholding Native rights :—

“Tomorrow I leave Rajputana, and I must say the appearance of the country, from first entering it to its furthest limits, does not say much for Native government. They have now had thirty years of uninterrupted prosperity, with all the benefits of a protected frontier, and nothing to pay for it ; yet I see the greater part (nine-tenths) of the country uncultivated, though much of the soil, the plains of Mewar in particular, appears very fertile, and water is in most parts abundant, and near the surface. I am aware a traveller going through the country so rapidly as I do, can see nothing but the outer features of the landscape, the extent and kind of cultivation, the build and appearance of the races, and the manner and style of the villages, and therefore I do not dwell much on my conclusions ; but I saw nowhere any symptoms of increased cultivation, or of capital laid out in agricultural improvements ; and both on this trip and on a former one through a Native State, a murder was committed almost under my nose, and was apparently regarded as a common event.”

The account of the Kingdom of Oude is perhaps the best part of the book. His stay in the country to be sure was not long—little more than three weeks, for we find him journalising his arrival at Cawnpore on the 23rd January, and his exit at Gorackpore on the 14th February *en route* to Nepal. But, evidently, he had made the most of his time in observing for himself, and making inquiries of others ; so that through his personal intercourse with the principal officials, from Colonel Sleeman, the Resident, downwards, and his gleanings from other sources, he had contrived to gather much useful information as to the actual state of the kingdom. The following extract will be read with interest at the present time, and might really be taken as a justification of recent events, were justification needed where the misrule and anarchy

here depicted had become so intolerable that annexation really gave the only chance of recovery and improvement :—

“ This Kingdom of Oude, as our Government has allowed it to be called, though, from its size, mode of erection, and necessary subordination to the paramount power of India, it would have been more properly designated as a soubah or province, appears to be in a most critical and interesting position. It has usually been estimated that its annual revenue ought to amount to two millions sterling ; but from its bad management, improvident grants, and widely-diffused disorganisation, the actual revenue collected last year was under £750,000 ; at the same time, it seems that the expenditure is a million and a half per annum ; and, what is worse, instead of being laid out on essentials—on the payment of troops, police, roads, and the necessary expenses of Government,—it is fooled away by the King in the most reckless and improvident manner. His tastes lead him exclusively to the society of fiddlers, amongst whom he spends all his time, composing songs, &c. and lavishing on the most unworthy individuals not only large sums of money (I heard of £30,000 to one fiddler), but actually conferring upon them the highest appointments of the State, to the disgust, of course, of all his respectable Omlahs. The disorganisation of the kingdom is such, that Colonel Sleeman, the Resident, has prevailed on the Governor-General to allow him to make a tour through the provinces, which he has been engaged in for the last three months, and during which he has been encouraging applications and the receipt of petitions from all quarters. This, no doubt, is an extraordinary interference with the Native Government, and not warranted by any treaty ; indeed, is contrary to them all, and therefore can only be justified by the strongest of all reasons—*salus populi*. In the mean time Colonel Sleeman has seen so much to shock him in the present aspect of things, that he has sent in word to stop all expenditure of Government, even on the most essential works over which he, as Resident, has any control, such as the repairs of the roads and bridges of the city, &c. and the European Officers have assured me that life and property are safe in no quarter of the kingdom ; that the troops are not paid, but are battered on the districts, where they cater for themselves, and where they are bought off through their commanding officer, by one rich Zemindar after another offering a douceur of £5,000 or so, to move on to a neighbouring district. Whilst Colonel Sleeman is thus employing himself, the Court are aghast at the storm which they suspect is brewing, and are of course in great consternation, and in order to meet the evils which are thus being palpably exposed, are making great retrenchments in every quarter, often of the most ill-advised nature.

“ It will be very curious to watch what the denouement of this state of affairs will be ; for, to a bystander like myself, it is difficult to understand how British interests are affected by this internal misrule, or how, therefore, any interference on our part can be warranted ; and I understand the responsibility lies entirely with Colonel Sleeman, for the Governor-General has only given a bare assent to his progress through the country.

“ I observe that Forster, on his visit to Lucknow in 1783, describes the then revenue at two millions sterling, but states that they had greatly decreased since the death of the late Vizier Sujah-al-Dowla.

“ *February 5th.*—An interesting letter this morning from Colonel Sleeman, describing the country he is travelling through, and wishing me

to come out to join him. He says :—‘A few years of tolerable government would make this the finest country in India; for there is no part of India with so many advantages from nature. I have seen no soil finer. The whole plain of which it is composed is capable of tillage. It is everywhere intersected by rivers flowing from the snowy range of the Himalaya, which keep the moisture near the surface, yet nowhere cut up the banks into ravines. It is studded with the finest groves and single trees, as much as the lover of the picturesque could desire. It has the boldest and most industrious peasantry in India, and a landed aristocracy too strong for the weak and wretched Government. It is for the most part well cultivated; yet, with all this, one feels in travelling over it, as if one were moving among a people suffering under incurable physical disease, from the atrocious crimes every day perpetrated with impunity, and the numbers of suffering and innocent people who approach one in the hope of redress, and are sent away in despair.’ ”

Sir Erskine was eccentric and quixotic enough, in face of the foregoing testimony, to stand up in the House of Commons to denounce annexation and advocate the *status quo*, on the faith of former treaties and the plea of Native rights. His audience, with an evident sense of the quackery of this sort of *friend-of-India sentimentalism*, showed him little countenance—in fact, rather snubbed him. We wish him a better case and better luck next time he courts the ear of the Commons.

There are few of our readers, we believe, who do not participate in the hope that the last important public act of the late Governor General, the “annexation of Oude,” may soon make the wish of that eminent public servant Colonel Sleeman, a reality; and that “few years” indeed may pass by before Oude, enjoying a “tolerable government,” becomes the “finest country in India.”

Here we must now part company with the “Bird's-Eye View,” and bid adieu to Sir Erskine in his character of an Indian author. The work emanating from a person who long filled an important position in Bombay society, seemed to claim special notice from us as Bombay Reviewers, and we regret that we should have had occasion to represent it as, in our opinion, alike unworthy of the subject and the writer's previous reputation.



**Bombay Diocesan Committee**  
OF THE  
**SOCIETY FOR PROMOTING CHRISTIAN  
KNOWLEDGE.**

**President.**

**THE LORD BISHOP.**

**Committee.**

**THE VENERABLE ARCHDEACON.**

**THE CHAPLAINS OF THE PRESIDENCY.**

**C. J. ERSKINE, Esq.**

**F. LEGGETT, Esq.**

**Secretary.**

**THE REV. P. ANDERSON, M. A.**

IN the year 1698 a few clergy and laity, who had frequently met in London for mutual advice and counsel, resolved to constitute a Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge, and to undertake,—first, the establishment of missions in the East Indies; second, the support of schools in England; and third, the publication of Bibles, Prayer-books, and other religious works. The association thus formed met with considerable encouragement, so that A. D. 1700 five thousand children were by its means taught, clothed, and many boarded, in London and Westminster; in 1712 a mission in which Schwartz afterwards gave himself up with such devotion to his Lord's service was established in Southern India; and in 1741 sixteen hundred schools had been opened in England and Wales. In course of time the Society resigned two fields of its labour—missions and schools—to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts and the National Society; but in

the third field, the publication of books, it is at present engaged more vigorously and extensively than ever. During the year ending April 1855, its issues of books and tracts amounted to 4,047,314; and during 22 years terminating at the same period, the issues amounted to more than 122,000,000, of which more than eight millions were Bibles and New Testaments, and nine millions and a half were Books of Common Prayer.

## AN HISTORICAL SKETCH OF THE SOCIETY'S BRANCH IN BOMBAY.

One of the Parent Society's first aims was to establish corresponding committees in England and her foreign possessions. So early as 1719 applications for assistance were received by it from the Rev. Richard Cobbe, Chaplain of Bombay, and its replies were encouraging; but there was no other result, in consequence of that gentleman's departure from the scene of his labours. Nor were any further steps taken here until 1816, when Bishop Middleton, having formed a Diocesan Committee at Calcutta, engaged in the same good work during his primary visitation at Madras, Ceylon, Penang, and Bombay. In the last mentioned place, Archdeacon Barnes and the rest of the clergy heartily seconded the zealous efforts of the first Indian Bishop, and having collected subscriptions to the amount of 1,680 rupees, provided the military throughout the Presidency with a large number of Bibles and Prayer-books, for which they were formally thanked in flattering terms by the Right Honourable the Governor in Council.

In August 1818 the Diocesan Committee, making for the first time a regular effort to educate the Natives of the Presidency, established Vernacular Schools, which they placed under the Education Society, and the following year they supplied gratuitously with books 850 pupils, of whom 250 were children of Natives. In 1829 they undertook to pay all the expenses of six schools for native females which the ladies of the American Mission had opened, but were about to close from the failure of funds. In 1831 the Society had two small schools

for Natives at Mátonga and Parell, one in Mazagon under the superintendence of the late Mr. Vaupell, and two in Carinja under Mr. Sargon. That year, also, they placed five hundred rupees at the disposal of the Rev. J. Gray, the zealous chaplain of Bhooj, who had opened a school where sixty native children received instruction in Christianity. But the support of schools has now ceased to be the Society's work, having been undertaken more effectually by missionaries; and as this division of their labours had awakened the interest and been a foundation for the purest hopes of their sanguine members, when it was given up, they seem to have been discouraged, and to have relaxed their efforts for the attainment of another and equally important object.

The work which the Society originally undertook, and which still remains to be performed, is the dispersion of moral and religious books throughout the Presidency. With this view, they expended considerable sums in translating the Liturgy and printing vernacular tracts, with which they supplied missionaries. The ministers of the English, Scotch and American Missions at Bombay, Surat, Bancote, and Severndroog repeatedly expressed their gratitude for the generous benefactions of the Committee, and for the friendly disposition which they constantly manifested. But the military and other portions of the European community were the chief objects of the Society's efforts in this department; so that not only the clergy of the Archdeaconry—*all of whom* were subscribing members—but also civilians of all classes, officers, and soldiers freely acknowledged the great benefits derived from their services. In both the Company's and Her Majesty's European Regiments officers and men came forward—in some instances without solicitation—to tender their pecuniary assistance. By such means the Society were enabled in 1820 to distribute 9,418 books and tracts, and 14,756 in 1821. The total number distributed between the years 1816 and 1821 was 33,941. Lending Libraries were also established in St. Thomas's Church, Bombay, at Colaba, Mátonga, Kaira, Poona, and Surat; hospitals and European regiments were regularly supplied with Bibles, Books of Common Prayer, as well as other books and tracts; and a few books were

placed in Travellers' Bungalows on various routes, so that in moments of rest and solitude wayfarers might find ready at hand opportunities for moral and spiritual improvement. Large supplies of books were received annually from the Parent Society, and regularly advertised in the newspapers of the Presidency.

## PRESENT CONDITION OF THE BRANCH SOCIETY.

Although fresh vigour was for some time imparted to the Bombay Branch of this useful Society by the exertions of the estimable Bishop Carr, its efficiency became again impaired, until at last its operations were confined to the support of a small Repository in Bombay, and to supplying the military with such books as were actually paid for by an annual grant received from Government. Last year, however, on the 28th of March, a meeting was held in the vestry of the Cathedral,—the Lord Bishop in the chair,—at which it was resolved that the efforts of the Diocesan Committee should be renewed. Subsequent inquiries showed that large numbers of Bibles and Prayer-books were required for the European troops in the Presidency, and a special appeal was made to the public, by which Rs. 788 were raised, Rs. 518 of which have been since remitted to the Parent Society to purchase Bibles and Prayer-books for soldiers. But it will be seen from an annexed statement of the accounts and subscription-list, that the support on which the Committee can depend is very slight, and that unless some combined attempt is made to infuse into it fresh vigour, it must fail of attaining the great ends for which the Society was established.

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## APPEAL TO CHAPLAINS AND THE PUBLIC GENERALLY.

The Committee, believing that the present condition of the Branch Society in this Presidency is a reproach to Churchmen, venture to remind the public that the great prosperity and success of the

Parent Society are mainly owing to the exertions of local committees as well as of its clerical and lay members scattered throughout the world. They would therefore respectfully urge the Reverend Chaplains of the Diocese to become members of their Branch Society, to collect subscriptions for it, and also to establish depôts of books at their several stations. In order that an additional inducement may be offered, the Committee have determined that the subscription which entitles members to purchase books at reduced prices shall be only Rs. 12 *per annum*, and they will circulate a list of books and tracts which his Lordship the Bishop and the clergy of Bombay propose to order from the Parent Society. All gentlemen are invited to add the titles of any other works on the Society's catalogue which they may desire to procure; and are assured that in this and similar matters, the Committee will pay a ready attention to their wishes.

In establishing depôts at their stations, gentlemen should follow the rule with reference to the Branch Society of Bombay which that Society follows with reference to the Parent Society. They should merely order such books as they have money in hand to purchase, and not expect the Branch Society to supply them with a stock in advance, as in such cases the Diocesan Committee have always found that their funds have been speedily exhausted without attaining in any proportionate degree the objects of the Society.

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The Committee, while reminding others of the respect due to a Society which has been the first in India to establish missions and schools for the Natives, and to publish tracts in the vernacular languages, mainly ground their claims for support on the importance of the work which is at present before them. They are anxious to offer all Christians, especially soldiers and sailors, facilities for procuring Bibles and Prayer-books, and to join the Parent Society in answering the multiplied calls of this generation for sound knowledge. The Society has felt, in common with the whole Church, the necessity of progress, and perceiving that many of its book-

and tracts were dry and uninteresting to the present age, has been engaged vigorously in adding to its stock such works as are adapted to the wants not only of uneducated but also of enlightened and intellectual persons. As yet, however, the influence of such books is little felt in this Presidency, and the Committee therefore consider it the duty of both clergy and laity to assist in diffusing a moral and religious literature which is strictly in accordance with the devotional, sober, yet highly spiritual formularies of the English Church. In making this appeal to the enlightenment and liberality of the public, they confidently expect ~~neither~~ more nor less support than the piety of the Society's exertions deserves.

### MEMORANDUM.

The sum collected on special Appeal amounted to.....	Rs. 775	0	8	
From which, in October last 1855, was remitted for Bibles and Prayer-books for supply to Soldiers, in Bill of £52 12s. 2d., or.....	Rs. 518	0	5	
Paid for printing Appeal.....	„	5	8	0
Paid Postage, &c.....	„	1	0	0
			„	524 8 0
Balance in hand ...	Rs. 250	8	8	

### CASH ACCOUNT FOR 1855.

RECEIPTS.			DISBURSEMENTS.		
	Rs.	a. p.		Rs.	a. p.
Subscriptions and Donations .....	181	8 0	Paid Parent Society for Books, £181 8s. 2d. ...	1,777	1 0
Government Grant for Schools and Hospitals.	742	0 0	Paid Clerk for the year...	492	0 0
Government Grant for Books to Indian Navy.	70	0 0	Paid Freight, Postage, and sundry miscellanies	51	2 1
By Books sold to the Public.....	2,580	12 0	Paid Deposits with Messrs Remington & Co., the Treasurers .....	1,027	0 0
			Balance in my hands 31st December 1855 .....	227	0 11
Total.....	3,574	4 0	Total.....	3,574	4 0

(Errors Excepted)

W. BROWN,

Clerk D. C. S. P. C. K.

Bombay, 8th April 1856.

## ISSUES DURING THE YEAR 1855.

Bibles and Testaments of sorts.....	158	} Value about Rs. 3,020.
Common Prayers.....	270	
Bound Books of sorts.....	291	
Half-bound and stitched.....	2,082	

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## SUBSCRIBERS.

The Lord Bishop.....	Rs. 50
Rev. F. Reynolds.....	„ 30
J. W. Muspratt, Esq.....	„ 35
C. J. Erskine, Esq.....	„ 25
F. Hutchinson, Esq.....	„ 20
F. Leggett, Esq.....	„ 20
Rev. W. K. Fletcher.....	„ 15
Jas. Gibbs, Esq.....	„ 15
Rev. G. Morison.....	„ 15
Rev. J. N. Hughes.....	„ 30
Rev. Wm. Goodall.....	„ 15
Rev. J. D. Gibson.....	„ 15
Rev. P. Anderson.....	„ 15











